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Cover: An early twentieth-century photograph of the Pike County Courthouse. The building is discussed in the McCartney article in this issue.

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THE 1831 PROBATE INVENTORIES OF DANIEL HARRIS AND MORRILL MARSTON: EARLY DOCUMENTS OF WARREN AND HANCOCK COUNTIES

John Lee Allaman

Most local historians writing about western Illinois in the nineteenth century usually rely on county histories and microfilm newspaper files for their information. Often the extant legal records in the county courthouse are entirely ignored. This is unfortunate because many of the surviving records in the courthouse date back to the very beginnings of the county.

Even professional historians have often neglected local governmental documents. This is changing as some historians use legal records "to explore cultures and societies obscured by the absence of any other written records." This new "anthropological history" is exemplified by Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre.* Davis used legal papers to recreate the rural society of 1500s France.[1] Sarah F. McMahon's study of dietary practices of early New England imaginatively used probate inventories for her historical information. Both Carl J. Ekberg and Susan C. Boyle had to extensively rely on legal records in their recreation of the social life of St. Genevieve, Missouri.[2]

One of the more interesting legal documents found in the county courthouse are the Probate Record case files. Usually found in the Circuit Clerk's office these case files often contain material like wills, administrator or executor's bonds, and estate inventories. Estate inventories particularly are important historical materials because they are an itemized listing of all personal property owned by the deceased individual. Broad patterns of economic data derived from probate records are biased because not everyone who lived in the past was wealthy enough to have their estate probated when they died. (Often women, the poor, and minorities do not have estates at the time of their deaths.)[3] The major users of inventories are individuals interested in genealogy, historical archaeology, historic preservation, and living history. For instance here in Illinois the only examples I have been able to find of local historians using estate inventories to any extent are Earnest E. East's 1938 articles in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* John W. Allen's 1968 book *It Happened in Southern Illinois,* and John Mack Faragher's 1986 book on Sugar Creek. This is sad because inventories provide a uniquely personal and descriptive view of everyday life in the historical past.[4]

The estate inventories of Daniel Harris and Morrill Marston that are printed in this essay were used because their names had been recorded in county histories as the first estates probated in Warren and Hancock Counties. Once I had Harris and Marston's names it was very easy to call for the records at the circuit clerk's office in the courthouse because probate record case files are indexed by personal name. Both men died without any immediate family by their side so

their personal property was sold at public auction. Thus both men's case files had a personal property appraisal inventory and a bill of sale inventory present. This essay only reprints Harris's Bill of Sale and Marston's appraisal inventory so readers can see both types of records but needless repetition of documents is avoided since the itemized listing of personal property is the same on both types of inventories.

Estate Inventory of Daniel Harris of Warren County

The first probate record in Warren County occurred because of a murder. On Ellison Creek northeast of the present day town of Media "on or about the seventh day of March A. D . 1831, " Daniel Harris was killed by an unknown assailant. He was alone in his cabin and was shot while eating his meal. The cabin site is today in the geographical confines of Media Township in Henderson County but in 1831 Henderson County was still a part of Warren County. Harris had left Toronto, Ontario, in the summer of 1830 to settle on land in Warren County. It has been claimed that Harris was a War of 1812 veteran, but he may not have served the United States during the war. He was not settling land that had been given to him as bounty, by the federal government for having served during the war, although Warren County was in the federal military bounty area.[5]

Harris had left his family behind at Toronto when he came to settle. He brought with him a number of tools, bee equipment, and fruit trees to create his new home in the wilderness. The probate inventory showed that Harris must have had experience with woodworking tools because some of his equipment included shaving tools, brace and bit, square, compasses, and gimlets. He also was a beekeeper because he had a honey stand and a beehive. The most important item that Harris owned was two hundred apple trees. He planned to create an orchard in the wilderness.[6]

Neighbors found Harris's body a few days after he was murdered, and it was first thought that roving Indians had committed the bloody deed. He was buried near his cabin, and his disposable property was probated. John Pence was appointed administrator of Harris's estate on March 28, 1831, and he sold Harris's personal property at public auction on April 21, 1831. Everything Harris owned was sold, including pantaloons, socks, spectacles, and a pillow. From a modern perspective it might seem strange that even Harris's clothes were sold but one must remember that at this time garments were still sewn by hand so what one wore represented an important financial asset. The item that brought the most money was the orchard; the two hundred apple trees sold for nineteen dollars. One object missing from the inventory is any mention of Harris owning a firearm. Maybe he did not own one or possibly the murderer stole it as something valuable and easy to trade or sell.[7]

Bill of Sale

The Property of Daniel Harris late of Warren County decd. Sold by John Pence Publick Administrator, to said Estate at Paris Smith's in Warren County Illinois on the 21st of April 1831

R. Redman to one Book	$0-75	John Fisher 2 Bottles	$0.12½
J. F. Eberman one Saw	2.18¾	John F. Eberman one Knife	.06¼
Paris Smith one Ax	2.00	Paris Smith one Auger	.56¼

John Fisher one hammer	.56¼
Fields Jarvis one chisel gouge	.56¼
R. Redman one Pot	1.50
John F. Eberman Shaving tools	1.50
John Fisher one tin Bucket	.37½
John Pence two Files	.12½
John Pence Brace & Bit	1.12½
John Fisher one Handkerchief	.31¼
R. Redman Knif Fork & Spoon	.37½
John Laswell two Gimblets	.18¾
John Pence one pair of Pantaloons	.50
Fields Jarvis one pair of Sox	.12½
John Pence one Coat	1.37½
John Fisher Great Coat	2.06¼
John Fisher 4 Shirts one Vest and Handkerchief	1.00
Anderson Smith Pocket Book	.31¼
John Pence one Blanket	4.00
P. D. Smith one square	.37½
P. D. Smith pr Compapses	.50
P. D. Smith one pan	.06½
John Fisher one Honey Stand	.75
Paris Smith 1½ Gals of Honey	.75
John Fisher one pr Spectacles	.75
Paris Smith Box Wafers	06¼
	$24.19

John F. Eberman one mill pick	.50
John F. Eberman one Ink Stand	.18¾
Fields Jarvis one Chest	2.87½
A. Smith tuls and 2 bags	1.50
Paris Smith one Bee hive	.43¾
P. D. Smith pr Mittens	.06¼
Fields Jarvis 2 Meat tubs	3.12½
R. Redman 50 Apple trees	4.50
John Pence 50 Apple trees	4.50
do 50 do	4.50
R. Redman 50 Apple trees	5.50
John Fisher one Pillow	.37½
	$28.81¼
brought forward	24.19
	$53.00¼

We do certify the above to be a true Bill of Sale this date above

J. F. Eberman Clerk
R. Redman Crier

It was not until April 1838 that Harris's relatives came from Canada to settle up his estate and sell his land claim. They then returned eastward, although by 1841 one son was living in nearby Mercer County.[8]

Over twenty years after- the homicide had occurred, a newspaper in Cincinnati, Ohio, reported that a convicted murderer's confession—given just before his hanging—told of his killing of Daniel Harris. The murderer had seen Harris withdraw money from a bank in New York, and he had followed Harris to Illinois where he had killed him for his money. The murderer had dressed himself as an Indian and then shot Harris while he was eating supper. The killer did not find any of Harris's money except a twenty-five cent piece. It has long been rumored in the area that many treasure hunters have searched the vicinity around Harris's grave and cabin site looking for the lost money.[9]

Estate Inventory of Morrell or Morrill Marston of Hancock County

The first probate record in Hancock County occurred with the March 9, 1831 death of Morrell or Morrill Marston, a veteran of the War of 1812. (A discrepancy exist in how Marston's first name was spelled. He evidently wrote his signature as M. Marston.) A biographical sketch claims he had originally been born in Rockingham County, New Hampshire. Yet when Marston was commissioned a first lieutenant in the 21st Regiment of United State Infantry on March 12, 1812 he was appointed from the state of Massachusetts. About fifteen months later on June 26, 1813, Marston received promotion to captain. He evidently distinguished himself so well during the British siege of Fort Eire, Ontario that on August 15, 1814 he was awarded the brevet rank of major. Marston's permanent rank in the army was still captain but with the brevet rank he could sometimes exercise

The American Soldier, 1819, from THE AMERICAN SOLDIER print series by H. Charles McBarron. This shows the uniforms worn by Major M. Marston and his men at Fort Armstrong in 1819 and 1820.

the command responsibilities of an army major and could even be addressed as a major by subordinate personnel. At the end of the War of 1812, Marston decided to remain in the army and on May 17, 1815 he was transferred to the 5th Infantry Regiment. By September 1819, he was the commanding officer of Fort Armstrong on Rock Island in the Mississippi River.[10]

Soldiers of the United States Army had started construction of Fort Armstrong, Fort Edwards, and Fort Crawford in the summer of 1816. The government established these forts to intimidate the Sauk and Fox Indians and show United States control of the Upper Mississippi River valley. In the summer of 1817, Major Stephen H. Long conducted an inspection tour of the forts and he found all three posts nearly completed. Long described the Sauk village near the mouth of the Rock River as "the largest Indian village situated in the neighborhood of the Mississippi between St. Louis & the Falls of St. Anthony." Long also mentioned the vast cornfields under cultivation by the Indians as well as the fact that all of the Sauk warriors were "armed with Rifles or fusees (light smooth-bore muskets or single-shot shotguns)." The journal kept by Long is the best description existing of the two western Illinois forts that played an important part in Marston's frontier military career. By September 10, 1819 we know Marston commanded at Fort Armstrong because on that date he sent a report describing the fort and its geographical situation to Major General Alexander Macomb.[11]

1820 marks the year that Brevet Major M. Marston became one of the two most important nineteenth century amateur ethnographers of the Sauk and Fox Indians. In February 1820, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun commissioned the Reverend Jedidiah Morse of New Haven, Connecticut to make an "observation and inspection" trip of the various Indian tribes living under the control of the United States government. Morse, an amateur geographer and former Congregational minister, conducted a fact-finding trip in 1820 through the Great Lakes region as far west as Green Bay, Wisconsin. Along the way Marston interviewed and corresponded with military officers and traders who had extensive knowledge of the different Native American tribes. While at Mackinac Island on June 20, 1820, Morse sent a letter to Marston at Fort Armstrong asking him for information on the Indian tribes located near him. Morse had a number of questions he wanted answered so it was not until November 1820 that Marston mailed his extensive reply to Morse's inquiries.[12]

In 1822 Jedidiah Morse published his findings in *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs.* He quoted Marston's letter almost verbatim in the section of the report describing the Sauk and Fox Indians. Marston's letter as printed in Morse's report was nearly twenty-three pages long. The letter is a description of the history, village sites, hunting patterns, language, and the political, economic, and social life of the Sauk and Fox Indians. Marston claimed he had resided only a year "in the vicinity of the Sauk" and Fox but that he had interviewed Sauk and Fox Chiefs like Masco and Wapello as well as questioning long time white residents like Sauk and Fox Indian agent Thomas Forsyth, Indian Traders George Davenport and Dr. Samuel C. Muir, and former sub Indian Agent Maurice Blondeau. In the concluding part of his letter to Morse, Marston said "No part of what I have written is taken from books, but almost

everything has been drawn either from the Indians themselves, or from persons well acquainted with their language, manners customs, &c. &c. On this account I presume it will be the more acceptable.''[13]

While Marston's observations on the Sauk and Fox were originally intended as a contribution to Reverend Morse's 1822 published government report, they also have historical and anthropological merit because Marston documented a culture and lifestyle that soon vanished with the onset of large scale white encroachment. In 1912 Emma H. Blair republished Marston's letter in her two volume work, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes.* In the same volume with Marston's letter, Blair also published a description of the Sauk and Fox written by Indian Agent Thomas Forsyth in 1827.[14]

Even as recently as 1978, Charles Callender in the Smithsonian Institution's new *Handbook of North American Indians* claimed two of the most important ethnographic studies of nineteenth century Sauk and Fox culture were Forsyth and Marston's descriptions.[15] Modern readers today have some access to Marston's letter on the Sauk and Fox because facsimile reprint editions exist for both Morse and Blair's publications.

Morrell or Morrill Marston's life after 1820 is somewhat obscure. About September 1821, he was transferred from Fort Armstrong to Fort Edwards. On September 27, 1824, the United States Army formally dismissed Marston from active duty. Hancock County historian Thomas Gregg in 1880 gave the impression that Marston had been kicked out of the army for chronic alcoholism. Of course it must be remembered that the United States Army abandoned Fort Edwards in the summer of 1824, the same year Marston was dismissed from service so maybe he was tired of the frontier military outpost life and the dismissal was a good excuse for him to become a civilian again. Evidently Marston settled in the area near the abandoned fort and when Hancock County was organized in 1825, he became a resident of the newly formed county. Marston drowned in a ''shallow slough'' near his cabin on March 9, 1831 and thus his estate became the first one probated in Hancock County.[16]

When one looks at the appraisal inventory of Marston's personal property the difference in economic class standing between him and Daniel Harris is readily apparent. Harris's personal property sold at public auction for $53.00¼ while appraisers valued Marston's personal property at $1,063.50¼.

An inventory of Personal property belonging to the estate of Morrill Marston decd. appraised by Jacob Lewis John Dedman and Dempsey Hood, appraisers duly appointed and Sworn. Showing each Specific article appraised and the value thereof

1 prarie plow valued at	$10.00	Brought forward	$45.12½
1 Crosscut Saw	3.00	1 Froe	.50
3 bottomless Tubs	.75	1 plain	.50
1 Comon Churn & b.	1.00	1 Sausage Cutter	.25
1 Barrel refuse meat	1.00	1 Tin Cullender	.25
1 Barrel with pork	3.00	1 Tin Strainer	.25
4 old Flour barrels	.50	2 Stone jars	.50
1 pair hanes & Collar	1.50	1 Tin pitcher & c	.12½
4 hilling hoes	2.00	1 Tin Washbason	.25
1 garden hoe & 2 Rakes	1.00	1 Small Funnel c	
2 Cow bells	1.00	& Small Coper c	.25

1 prarie corn planter	.50
2 grass Siths & hangings	4.00
1 Double Tree	.37½
1 large Rope	.62½
5 peases dryed beef	.50
1 large oven	1.25
1 large pot	2.00
1 griddls	1.00
1 Small iron pot	.50
2 Iron Ladles	.25
1 Washing tub	1.00
1 Small oven	.75
1 Frying pan	.50
1 Dinner pot	1.25
1 Tea Kittle	1.00
1 grid iron	.12½
2 pair pot hooks	.50
1 Edge or ades	1.25
2 Drawing Knifes	1.50
1 2 inch auger	1.50
Carried forward	45.12½

1 large tea canester	.50
1 comon lantern	.25
2 Tin Candlesticks	.25
1 Coffe boilar	.50
1 old copper Kettle	.25
2 Shoe brushes	.12½
1 tin dipper & pan	.25
1 Coffee Mill	.75
1 Barrel Refuse meat	2.00
2 emty barrels	.50
1 barrel of Soap	4.00
9 horse Shoes	1.00
2 broad Chisals	.50
2 Saw Setts	.25
1 Iron Wedge	.50
1 Branding iron	.25
1 Box of old irons	2.50
2 Candlemolds	.50
3 pounds R cotton	.50
2 Mill Bags	.75
Carried over	64.12½

Brought over	64.12½
1 Keg old Winda glass	.12½
1 Wire Sifter	.75
2 Water buckets	.75
1 Cott bedsted	.50
1 Ball candle Wick	.50
1 Feather Bed for one person & Two pillows and 1 green blanket & mat	6.50
1 Wash Stand	1.00
1 Small portable Trunk	.25
1 Trunk With garden seed	2.00
1 Shott gunn	2.00
1 old Riffle gun	1.00
1 Saddle With Cloth	7.00
1 Common do	3.00
1 old bridle	.25
1 Keg onion seed	.25
1 Demi John	.50
6 Tin pans	1.25
1 Earthan jar	.50
1 Watter paile	.25
1 dressing Table	1.00
1 Stone Jug	.50
1 Smothing iron	.50
1 Brakefast Table	3.00
1 Small looking glass	.50
1 hand Lantern	.50
1 pair Sissers	.25
1 pair Saddle bags	1.00
1 portable desk	.75
1 portable box With 5 Rasers hone Cup &	5.00
1 Feather bed for two persons 2 pillows & Slips one Sheat one quilt one white blanket	9.00
Carried up	$114.50

Brought up	114.50
1 bedsteed Sacking Clo	3.00
6 Winser Chars	3.00
12 Volums Ramseys Universal history	12.00
12 Volums medical Comtatorey	8.00
1 V Adams Raligin	1.00
1 do Jamesons domes medicin	1.50
1 Dorbeys Louisian	1.00
1 Watson mind	1.00
1 Hunters Narative	.75
2 polittical Essays	1.50
1 Murtroys Scetches on Louisville	.50
1 holy Bible	1.00
2 French and inglish dictionary	2.00
1 Duffields do	.75
1 Clasical do	.75
1 Millatory do	.75
1 New hamsher gazetteer	.50
1 Walkers dictionary	.75
1 Brooks gazetteer	1.50
1 Spectator	.75
1 Sotten Testament	.50
1 Murreys gramer	.75
1 Tunees letters	.25
1 Translation of St John	.25
1 Horls games	.12½
4 Vol Northameri Revew	.75
1 Kitichen garden	.12½
1 Banket mafr US	.75
Carried over	$159.50

	Brought over	159.50
2	Globler Maps	.50
1	Chess Board	.25
2	Salt Sellors	.50
1	Coster 1 peper box	.25
1	Musterd pot	.12½
1	Tin pepper box	.10¼
11	Cups & Sausers	1.25
5	Tea Spoons	.31¼
3	Table Spoons	.25
2	boals Smalls ones	.25
7	Knives & ten forks	1.00
1	Butcher Knife	.25
1	Smal tea Weighter	.25
3	oval dishes	1.00
9	Pewter plates	1.50
2	tin Cups	.12½
4	queensware plates	.50
1	Britana tea pot	
	one tin Candle box	.25
1	Willow basket	.12½
1	bottle of Tirpentine	.50
2	quart bottles	.25
9	Snuff bottles	.50
6	Silver Tumlers	12.00
1	Shovel	.75
3	Choping axes	3.75
1	quart Bottle	.12½
1	Case of Surveyors	
	Instuments	8.00
1	Fish gig	.25
1	Barrel With pickles	.50
1	Whiskey barrel	.37½
1	Large Basket	.50
1	Lot of potatoes	
	Subposed to 6 bushal	1.50
	Carried up	197.25

	Brought up	197.25
5	Pillow Slips	.62½
4	Cotton Sheets	2.50
1	Under bed tick	.37½
5	hand Towles	.31½
1	Bottle With snuff	.12½
1	Box With Medicins	4.00
1	Chest With Medicin	15.00
2	pot Chains & c	1.00
1	Leather Traviling	
	Trunk	2.00
1	hare Trunk	1.25
1	Musqueto bar & Curton	1.00
1	Silk umbrella	3.00
1	Silver neddle	5.00
1	Spaying Nedle & c	.12½
1	Cloths Brushes & c	1.00
1	plaid Cloake	2.50
1	Fur hat	3.00
1	blue Cloath Coat	6.00
1	long Silk Carvat	.75
1	Silk poc hankerc	.75
1	Coat Vest and	
	pantaloons	7.00
2	blue Vest & pantaloons	1.00
1	black Cloth Coat	7.00
1	Mersills Vest	.75
1	Musqueto bar	1.00
1	Millitarey hat	2.00
4	pair Wooling Socks	
	& 3 pair Cotton do	.75
2	Cotton hankerch & c	.50
1	Silk velvit Vest	5.00
1	Shirt 1 pre drawers	.75
2	Cotton Sheets	1.00
1	Cambrick Corvat	
	Remnant Cotton Cloth	.25
		271.56½

	Brougt over	271.56½
1	Roundabout & pontalons	.50
1	new pillow tick	.31¼
4	pair Summer pantalons	2.00
1	Morning Gound	1.25
1	Remnant Cotton Cloth	.12½
1	Chies hoop	.25
1	old pair boots one of Shoes	1.00
6	Sows & 10 pigs	18.00
2	Barrows	7.00
10	Shoats	12.50
1	Truck Cart	4.00
10	Murren hides	10.00
1	Carey plow	4.00
2	Bee Stands	2.50
1	Iron teath 14 harrow	3.50
1	Bull plow	6.00
1	Thumb Lancet	.50
12	Dunghill Fowls	1.50
2	Vol Northamarican Revew	.37½
1	pair Woolen Socks	.37½

	Brought up	490.74¼
1	horse	20.00
1	Mare	20.00
1	Black Bobbd tail	
	Cow & Calf	7.00
1	Cow & Calf White	
	Black & Red head	7.00
1	Red Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Red sided and Whit	
	backed Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Black Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Speckle Cow & Calf	7.00
1	pided Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Black Cow & Calf	7.00
1	Brown Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Black Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Red Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Black Cow & Calf	10.00
1	Small heffer Calf	1.00
1	Black & White	
	Cow & Calf	8.00

1 old grass Scythe	.75
1 large Kittle & bail	2.50
1 Book Natural pholosipy	.75
1 Book Classical dictonary	.75
3 Books Wilkisons memorils	.75
1 Map & elustrations	.25
1 Tuth drawer	1.00
1 logg Chane	4.00
1 Stone hammer	.75
1 logg Chane	4.00
1 do one hook	2.50
1 do in 2 peases	2.50
1 Yoake Work Stears	40.00
1 do Steers	30.00
1 do Steers	50.00
Carried up	490.75¼

1 Black Cow & Calf	8.00
1 Brown Cow	10.00
1 Red Cow	9.00
1 Black Cow	8.00
1 White bull	5.00
8 year old Calves	21.00
1 Black Cow	10.00
1 White back Steer	10.00
1 Yoak Work Steers	35.00
1 do do do	35.00
1 Black Steer White face	10.00
3 Two year old Steers	15.00
2 year old Calves	5.00
1 Red Cow	10.00
1 Brindle Steer	8.00
Caried over	846.75¼

Broght up	846.75¼
1 Brindle Steer	8.00
1 White backed Steer	6.00
1 Black Stag Steer	6.00
1 Black bull	5.00
1 Black heffer	7.00
2 Two year old Steers	8.00
1 year old Steer	1.50
1 Red Stag Steer	10.00
1 dunn Coulored Stag	7.00
1 Black Stag	6.00
1 White Stag	8.00
3 year old Calves	4.50
1 Red Steer White bac	10.00
1 Black Steer	5.00
1 Black Cow	5.00
1 Brindle Steer	5.00
6 Two year old Steers and 2 heffer	32.00
1 Brindle Steer	10.00
1 pided Stag	5.50
3 Three year old heff	18.00
2 year old Calves	5.00
1 pided Stag	6.50
1 pided Steer	6.00
2 Two year old Steers	8.00
1 Black Cow	7.00
1 White fase Cow	6.00
2 Two year old heffers	8.00
1 Red heffer	4.00
1 year old heffer	3.00
1 garden Spade	.75
1 White Cow & Calf	7.00
1 Black heffer	7.00
1 Book 5000 Recptes	.75
Carried up	1083.25¼

Brought up	1083.25¼
2 Horse collars one pair drawing Chan	
2 Back Boards one Singletree & pair harn	5.00
2 Barrels With lime	.25
1 Murren hide	.75
1 Cotton Shirt and 8 yards of Muslin	2.00
	1091.25¼
From which deduct	27.75
Total amount of personal property	$1063.50¼

We the appaisers agreeable to our oaths as attached
To the Warrents of our appointments do Certify that the forgoing Inventory or bill of appraisement is Correct Agreable To the best of our abilityes and Judgments, erors exist(?) given Under our hands and Seals April 18th 1831

Jacob Lewis
John Dedman
Dempsey Hood

The following property was appraised under the belief that It belonged to the estate, but which under examination was found to belong to other individuals Towit

1 three year old red steer
1 do Brown do
1 do white lined back do two years old

1 three year old Brown hiefer
1 volume of the Spectator large unbound

Which property was valued at twenty Seven dollars 75 cents. which is to be deducted from the amount Stated on the preceding page.

Jacob Lewis
John Dedman

Several of Marston's personal characteristics can be gleaned from the inventory. He used snuff, played chess, and drank whiskey. Some of the foods he ate included mustard, pickles, flour, potatoes, pork, and dried beef . His possession of a military hat and a military dictionary gives concrete evidence of his prior career as a soldier.

The inventory also shows Marston's interests in agriculture, medicine, and literature. He owned a prairie plow, a harrow and a cornplanter in a period when many individuals still practiced subsistence farming techniques. Marston's collection of medical books and his box and chest of medicines implies he had some professional knowledge of the art of healing in a time when folk remedies were commonplace. The fact that Marston owned a personal library shows he was something of a bookish individual. He seems to have enjoyed studying history, geography, and the classics. Possibly he could read French, Greek, and Latin. Marston read the *North American Review* since he owned several volumes of the magazine. Evidently someone had loaned him a volume of the *Spectator* to read since the estate appraisers subtracted it from the itemized listing. The estate inventory proves that Marston was an intelligent, well read individual who possessed enough literary skill to write his informative and descriptive study of the Sauk and Fox Indians in 1820.

Conclusion

One major problem exists for individuals intrigued in utilizing probate inventories for purposes of research and analysis. The descriptions listed in the legal documents do not always have the same meaning to modern readers as they did to the people who actually created the written record. Historical Archaeologist James Deetz claimed probate inventories are "a folk taxonomy" because "the terms used in the inventories are those used by the people themselves." To interpret these legal papers accurately "It is therefore necessary that one become familiar with the semantics of the English language during the period under study." Deetz recommended using a good reference source like the *Oxford English Dictionary* to better understand unfamilar material culture items listed in the probate records.[17] An example of what Deetz means is the entry for "1 Roundabout & pontalons" in Marston's inventory. The pantaloons are deciphrable as pants or trousers but the term roundabout is questionable unless one knows that it refers to an early nineteenth-century waist-length jacket often used by military personnel as a fatigue uniform. As this study of two documents shows, probate inventories can give the historian a private, almost intimate view of the human experience in frontier Illinois. Unfortunately, they are a kind of courthouse record that is commonly neglected.

NOTES

[1]Edward Berenson, "The Politics of Divorce in France of the Belle Epoque: The Case of Joseph and Henriette Caillaux, " *American Historical Review* 93 (February 1988): 31-55; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Robert Finlay, "The Refashioning of Martin Guerre, " *American Historical Review* 93 (June 1988): 553-571; and Natalie Zemon Davis, " 'On the Lame,' " *American Historical Review 93* (June 1988): 572-603.

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[3]Roy C . Turnbaugh, Jr . *A Guide to County Records in the Illinois Regional Archives* (Springfield: Illinois State Archives, 1983), 171-217; H. G. Jones, *Local Government Records: An Introduction to Their Management, Preservation, and Use* (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), 144-145; James Deetz, *In Small Thinqs Forqotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977), 8-11; Arlene Eakle and Johni Cerny, eds., *The Source: A Guidebook of American Genealogy* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry Publishing Company, 1984), 150-214; Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly,* third series, 32 (January 1975): 89-99; Doris Roney Bowers, "Genealogical Research in the County Courthouse," *Illinois Libraries* 70 (September 1988): 480-484; Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible, Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century,* vol. 1, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981), 283-285; George Francis Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), 32-38, 54-85, 242-245, 258-283; Roy C. Turnbaugh, Jr. and Robert E. Bailey, *Windows to the Past: A Selection of Illinois County Records from 1818 to 1880* (Springfield: Illinois State Archives, 1983), document 33; and Frederick B . Tolles, "Town House and Country House: Inventories from the Estate of William Logan, 1776," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (October 1958): 397-410.

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[5]*History of Henderson County. . .* (Chicago: H. H. Hill and Company, Publishers, 1882; reprint ed., Aledo, Illinois: The Times Record Co., (1975, 1981), 301-302; and Daniel Harris Affidavit and Letter of Administration, Dan[iel] Harris Probate Record, Box 127, Warren County, Records and Files of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Monmouth, Illinois.

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[7]*History of Henderson County. . .,* 301-302; Ellen M. Whitney, comp.. and ed., *The Black Hawk War 1831-1832, Illinois State Historical Library Collections,* vols. 35-38 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1970-1978), 37:1257-1259; Luther E. Robinson, ed., *Historical and Biographical Record of Monmouth and Warren County, Illinois,* 2 vols. (Chicago: Munsell Publishing Company, Publishers, 1927), 1:14; and Letter of Administration and Bill of Sale, Dan[iel] Harris Probate Record.

[8]Daniel Harris Affidavit, Dan[iel] Harris Probate Record.

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[12]U.S. War Department, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs. . .*, by Jedidiah Morse (New Haven: Printed by S. Converse, 1822; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1970), 9-21, app. 120; and Richard J. Moss, "Republicanism, Liberalism, and Identity: The Case of Jedidiah Morse," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 126 (October 1990): 209-236.

[13]Morse, app. 120-140. Short biographical sketches of some of the individuals who helped Marston with his letter are in the following works, Whitney, *The Black Hawk War*, 36:18 note 8, 108 note, 33 note, 569 note 12 and Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur 1833-1872* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1933; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 7 note 7.

[14]Emma H. Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 2:137-245.

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[16]Robert M. Cochran et al, *History of Hancock County, Illinois: Illinois Sesquicentennial Edition* (Carthage, Illinois: Board of Supervisors of Hancock County, 1968), 148-150, 599; Heitman, 1:691; Gregg, 220, 279-280, 565, 241; John E. Hallwas, *Western Illinois Heritage* (Macomb, Illinois: Illinois Heritage Press, 1983), 91; and Inventory of Personal Property, Morrill Marston Probate Record, Hancock County, Records and Files of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Carthage, Illinois. The case file is actually located in Box 1 in the County Clerk's office.

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THE PIKE COUNTY COURTHOUSE

Carol McCartney

The red-domed courthouse sits like a huge crown on the square block of green grass in the center of Pittsfield, the county seat of Pike County. In the century-old building, county business is conducted: trials are held; births, deaths, marriages are recorded; taxes and traffic tickets are paid; passport applications are made; dog licenses are received; land sales are recorded; and assistance for the poor is given. It is the most significant building in the county.

Tourists often stop their cars to take pictures of the beautiful building located on busy Route 36 between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers in western Illinois. They ask office workers in the courthouse for information and printed data about the building. Interested people comb Pittsfield's stores surrounding the square for pictures, books, or leaflets about the palace-like county headquarters, but they come away empty handed except for a single picture postcard from Agape Book and Bible House on the corner of Washington and Madison Streets. The card has a few identifying statements on its message/address side:

> Pike County courthouse, Pittsfield, Illinois
> This unusual octagonal building was begun in May, 1894 and dedicated November 16, 1895, at a total cost of $68,520.28. The center tower reaches 136'. The four entrances face the cardinal points—north, south, east, and west.

But those three sentences do not begin to tell the history of courthouses in Pike County or the Building Committee's trials in getting this unusual red-domed courthouse constructed. Pittsfield is not the first county seat of Pike County, nor is the red-domed courthouse the first in Pittsfield. It is the third courthouse in the town, but the fourth in the county. To explain this situation, we must look to early history of the area.

In 1821, when Pike County was first carved out of Illinois territory, the county seat was southwest of Hardin at Coles Grove. After two years, Atlas was named county seat and the same log cabin that had served as the courthouse in 1821 was taken apart and moved to Atlas, then reassembled in 1823. The same building served as the courthouse in two different locations.[1]

By 1827, Pike Countians were desirous of having the county seat more centrally located than Atlas, which was on the extreme west side. The state legislature of '32-33 appointed a commission to relocate the seat of the county.[2] The town of Pittsfield was created for the purpose, and a two-story frame building on the north side of the square served as the first official offices.[3]

Wild brush and brambles had to be cleared from the central square in 1838 before a large square two-story courthouse could be built in the center of Pittsfield. It was the third of Pike County, the second in the town. About fifty years later, this building fell into disrepair and the County Board of Supervisors discussed renovation. While arguments continued, the county business was done in the opera house on South Madison Street and some offices were held in other rented locations in town.[5] Finally, one Supervisor reported his constituents' views.

> It desires that no considerable portion of the Pittsfield people have any desire for the repair of the Old Court House, and much repair is utterly impracticable and out of the question.

The second courthouse in Pittsfield, built in 1838. From an 1880s photograph.

The current Pike County courthouse, under construction in 1895-1896.

> It would be a great expense and be but a botched job at the end. Pittsfield and the people of this section want a spick-span, brand new court house and will be content for the old opera house to be used until they get it.[6]

A short ten days later the Board met again, this time in urgency because "Barry was circulating a petition that it wanted the county seat moved to that town and would pay $50,000 to help build a new court house."[7] Many county citizens were inconvenienced by the scattered offices of county officials and felt if Pittsfield was not going to build a new courthouse, the county seat should be moved to a town that would. A county-wide vote was taken in November; Barry lost. However, Barry's action hastened the Board to act on building a new courthouse in Pittsfield.[8]

A Building Committee was named in December, 1893, to begin investigating other courthouses and materials. They were to solicit architects and contractors and report back to the Board. The Committee followed the Board's instructions and visited several county seats in Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Iowa as well as stone cutting works in at least two places.[9]

The public was critical over the number and cost of the trips. The *Pike County Democrat* newspaper reported, "Slaps and gibs the building committee were receiving over their exploring trips were hardly the fair thing."[10] Two weeks later an explanation for the number of courthouse inspections appeared, "The Committee is determined to get the best it can for the city."[11]

Finally on February 28, 1894, the Board chose a plan by Henry Elliott from a field of twenty architects who submitted plans by invitation of the Committee. From bids received, Yaeger and Schultz of Danville, Illinois were chosen as contractors at the price specified, $45,000, to be completed within 400 days after the signing of the contract.[12]

The ground was broken on May 11, 1894 and the foundation put in and walls started. But when the rock began arriving by train car loads in huge blocks straight from the quarries, it was reported that "there is no wagon in town that will hold up the largest."[13] In June, delays in construction occurred due to unsettled conditions of the railroad. Then there was trouble with the cement mortar with which the rock was laid. But this was not all. There was also delay in receipt of stone and cement. The Berea rock stock was running low due to a miners' strike. Because the rock was slow in arriving, the stone cutters were laid off.[14]

Finally, on July 12, when the construction reached the level where the cornerstone was to be laid, a great celebration was held. According to the *Pike County Democrat,* thousands of people came to see the laying.

> The sun came up with heated brilliance. . . people came pouring into town from all points of the compass and by 10 o'clock in the forenoon the city park and surrounding streets and walks were as crowded as if the great Barnum show was here.
>
> T.N. Hall, Marshall of the day, put in an appearance mounted on that fine stallion of Perry Allen's.
>
> Bands came from Winchester and Louisiana entertaining people on the streets as they waited. About 1:30 the parade lined up. The article lists the organizations and the numbers of people from those groups marching in the parade for the celebration:
>
> Louisiana [Missouri] band
> G.A.R. Members, 56 strong
> Citizens
> Mayor, Aldermen, City Officers
> Circuit and County Judges

Members of the Bar
Supervisors and County Officers
Modern Woodmen, 25
Knights of Pythians, 86
I.O.O.F.
Daughters of Rebekah, 22
W.C.T.U., 52
Order of Eastern Star, 26
Knights Templar, 35
A.F. and A.M., 235
Grand Lodge A.F. and A.M.

The Grand Master of the State of Illinois Masonic Lodge held a ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone. He deposited within that stone a box containing numerous county documents and data of the time: All the names of teachers and school officials in the county; names of all library trustees; copies of newspapers from Pike County towns, St. Louis, and Chicago; names of members of the Illinois National Guard; copies of bids and contracts of the courthouse, and memberships and officers of many other organizations in the county. All Masonic members in attendance that day participated in the laying. After the stone was in place, the Grand Master poured corn, wine, and oil over it.[15] Those symbolized plenty, health and peace, in that order.

The cornerstone has two faces. The northwest surface bears this inscription:

Laid by the Masonic Fraternity
A.L. 5944, L.A. Goddard, Grand Master,

On the northeast face, the date and those responsible are named:

Cornerstone laid July 12, 1894
Board of Supervisors: J. R. Easley, Chr.
W. Bright, J.L. Cawthon, A. Duff, M.F. Goodwin,
G.W. Gerard, W. Hess, C.I. Rupert, W.I. Ware,
F.L. Hall, W.R. Hooper, C. Johnston, F.W. Jaritz,
W.P. Kennedy, L.W. Mahan, G. Main, G. Williams,
H. Young, W.A. Grimes, Clerk
Building Committee: W. Scarborough, T.N. Hall,
D. Elder, S. Hull, H. Westlake
Henry Elliott, Arch. Yaeger & Schultz, Blds.

The courthouse is fashioned of Cleveland sandstone veneering, backed by heavy walls of brick. It is octagonal in shape, with overall dimensions of 110 feet by 119 feet.

The stone for the courthouse was shipped in the rough from the quarries in Iowa and formed into blocks as required for the building at the site. For this job, many stone cutters were employed and their problems added to the Building Committee's difficulties in construction that summer as reported in the press. One older stone cutter had a paralytic stroke[16] while another one developed typhoid fever and died.[17] In August, 1894, some of the stone cutters mashed two hind wheels of the large bummer's wagon.[18]

The contractor had greater anxieties. None of the stone cutters had the particular skill of keystone masonry. With a 400-day contract, he did not have time to search for another mason. He was voicing his problem one day when Robert Franklin from Nebo was in town paying his taxes. He had been a stone mason in England before moving to America, and he volunteered to work on the courthouse.[19]

He and some members of his family walked or drove their team of horses from home on Monday morning to Pittsfield, some fifteen to twenty miles. They worked six days on the stone cutting, then returned to Nebo on Saturday evening. For this invaluable work, Franklin is remembered in a plaque in the center hall of the courthouse.

In memory
Robert Franklin
England, 1849 - Nebo, 1915
A master mason who designed and
Supervised the keystone architecture
of this courthouse

The architect, Mr. Elliott, was not celebrated, however. The *Barry Adage* paper of September 19, 1894, reports: "We hear many complaints about the new courthouse. The people of Pittsfield are not at all satisfied with it. Generally conceded that the building is not substantial enough. Pretty, but not solid."[20] In November of that year, a prominent architect from Chicago was called in to inspect the building. He said the courthouse under construction was in a bad state of affairs and he would condemn it as unsafe if it were completed without further strengthening. The Committee then fired Mr. Elliott, and secured the services of George P. Washburn of Ottowa, Kansas, to complete the courthouse. He strengthened the existing structure and made some important changes in the circuit court room.[21]

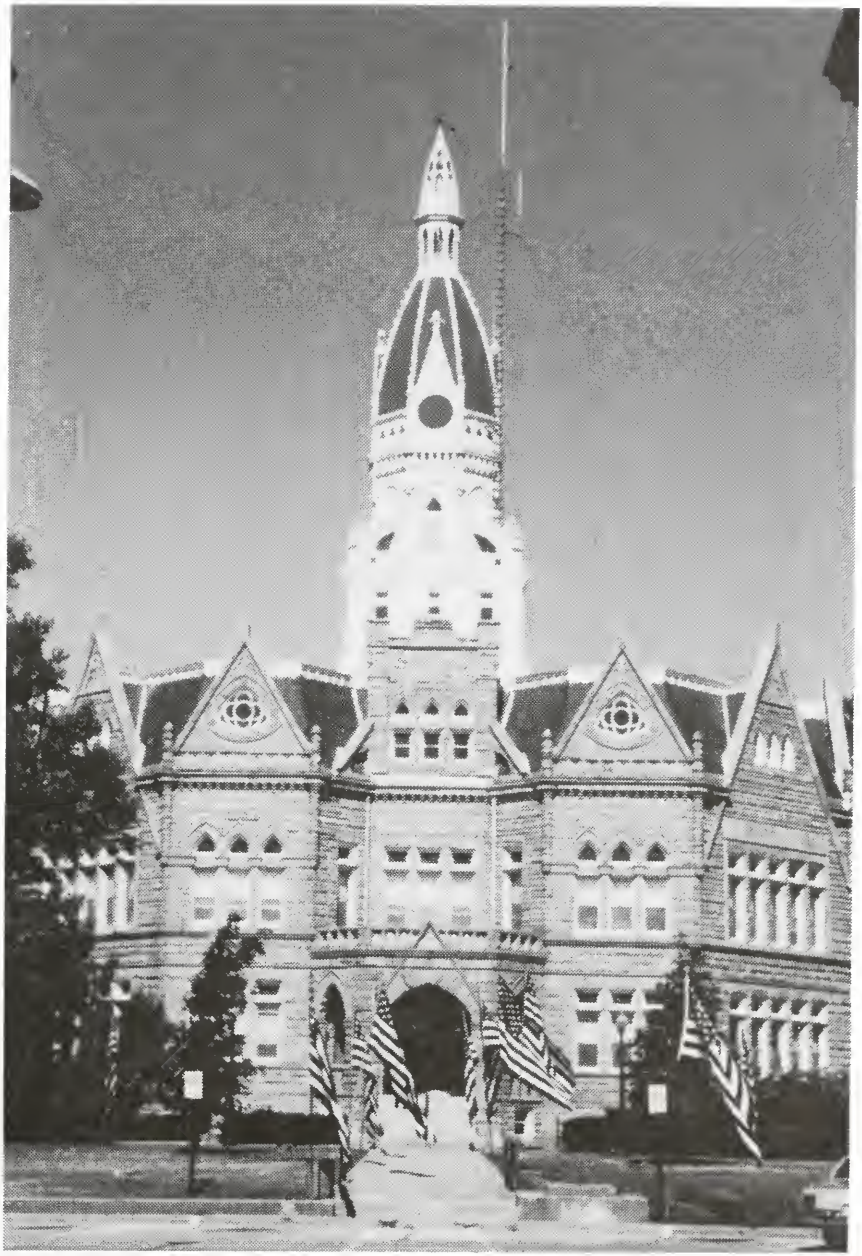
No problem concerning the court house construction escaped the local newspaper, even when workers ran away. In November, a columnist notes, "Three stone cutters left via prairie schooner and a team of wheezy horses headed for St. Louis, then the sunny south."[22]

As the courthouse neared completion and the dome was added, critics said the square base should have been bigger; it did not look good perched on so large a roof.[23] The dome is atop a square tower base of white. Red slate covers the upper pointed portion of the dome which then reaches upward in a sharp peak of ornamental filigree design of twenty-two feet.

The courthouse inside has a cruciform design with walls intersecting in a large rotunda in the center. Above the arched halls leading to the exits are the directional initials: N, S, W, E. Because the four entrances of the courthouse are all exactly alike, people often get confused. They enter by one door, accomplish their business and leave by another exit, not realizing their departure was not from the same door as their entrance. They go outside, cannot find their vehicle, and assume it must have been stolen. More than a few people, both residents and strangers, have had this bewildering experience. Some have walked across to the sheriff's office in the jail to report a stolen car, only to find it where it was left—on a different side of the courthouse.

The hall floors are mosaic tile; the woodwork, wainscotting, furniture and stairway banisters are of quartered oak. Doors and windows are decorated with stained glass panels above each. Stained glass also forms the ceiling of the rotunda, high in the dome.

The first floor of the courthouse contains offices of Circuit Clerk, County Clerk, County Treasurer, General Assistance, County Court Room (now small claims court and meeting room of the Board of Supervisors), and the Office of Supervi-



The courthouse on a recent Memorial Day.

The curving twin stairs leading from the second floor to the gallery of the circuit courtroom. In back of the staircase is one of the many stained glass windows.

sor of Assessments. In the basement are the Civil Defense Office and mapping department of the Assessment office. Two locked storage rooms contain old court cases and at one time held two signed by Abraham Lincoln when he practiced law in the county. Those have been stolen but his name remains on the docket.

In the fall of 1990, the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency's "Lincoln Legal Papers" search team found in the basement storage area the materials of Lincoln's law cases in Pike County—eleven had their origin here. One team member said, "It's amazing that this material is here. The history of Illinois is right here in this room."[24]

The second floor of the courthouse contains the law library, the large circuit court room with a balcony, the judge's chambers (3 rooms), and jury room. On the north side of the center hall are offices of the State's Attorney and Probation Office.

In the Circuit Court room, the furniture is likely the original designed by the second architect of the courthouse, Mr. Washburn. Tables here and other rooms of the building are a unique design. Because of the building's octagonal shape, windows form the southeast, south, and southwest side of the courtroom. The curtained panes are topped with pointed arches of stained glass in red, blue, and gold.

Many citizens recall how full and overflowing the courthouse was in November 1937, during one of the most famous trials held in Pike County—that of Reverend Newton. Rev. Newton had murdered a parishioner with whom he was having an affair and had thrown her body off the Hannibal bridge of the Mississippi River. Though both Rev. Newton and his lady friend were from Missouri, the crime took place in East Hannibal, Pike County, Illinois.[25] News reporters came from across the country to cover the scandalous trial. In Pittsfield, high school classes were dismissed so students could attend the court proceedings. Adults, however, were angry the trial took place in Pittsfield. It was during the Depression and the taxpayers were responsible for the expense of the trial even when the people involved were not from Pike County.

Other court cases of note involved the Sny Drainage System which went to the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1870s in which former President Rutherford Hayes was one of the attorneys.[26] A recent case granting grandparents visitation rights in children's custody cases began in Pike County and was later affirmed by the State Supreme Court.[27]

To local residents, the red-domed courthouse represents an identity. It is a symbol of their county. So in 1990, citizens were upset when the Board of Supervisors began repair of a leaking roof and the advising architect reported that the red roof and dome might have to be changed to black or gray. People were adamant that the red slate be replaced with the same color even though costs were much higher. They wanted their red dome! They would agree that the original Building Committee had gotten the best it could for the city.

The courthouse is architecturally and historically one of the most significant buildings in western Illinois. It was voted one of the ten most beautiful courthouses in the state.[28] It is pictured in the book, *Courthouses A Photographic Document,*[29] and its photo is the November illustration for the 1991 Illinois State Histor-

ical Calendar.

The Pike County courthouse is now almost one hundred years old and is still the center of attention. No one knows the early Building Committee's frustrations and criticisms in construction. Residents see it as the center of celebrations. At summertime festivals, it is a generous host to tents, booths, popcorn stands, and children's carnival rides, which cover the lawns on all sides. The sheltering porches hide young lovers and cradle weary children and tired parents from the day's activities. On election day, the halls are jammed with candidates, families, and anxious voters as they wait for votes to be counted and tallied. On Memorial, Independence and Veteran's days, the courthouse is surrounded by American flags placed by the Legion in memory of those who lost their lives in military action. Amid them, the massive stone, eight-sided edifice sits in honor, majesty, and dignity, symbolizing heritage and community in Pike County.

NOTES

[1]*The Jess M. Thompson Pike County History* printed installments in *The Pike County Republican)* (Pittsfield, Illinois 1935-1939), p.13.

[2]*History of Pike County Illinois,* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman Co., 1880) p.267.

[3]*History of Pike County Illinois,* (Chicago: Chas. C.Chapman Co. 1880) p.269.

[4]Chapman,pp. 271-72.

[5]*Pike County Democrat,* April 23, 1893.

[6]*Pike County Democrat,* April 23, 1893.

[7]*Pike County Democrat,* May 3, 1893.

[8]*Pike County Democrat,* December 13, 1893.

[9]*Pike County Democrat,* December 13, 1893.

[10]*Pike County Democrat,* February 14, 1894.

[11]*Pike County Democrat,* February 28, 1894.

[12]*Pike County Republican,* September 27, 1951. Reprint of January 1, 1896, article from the *Pike County Times.*

[13]*Pike County Democrat,* May 23, 1894.

[14]*Pike County Democrat,* June 6, 1894.

[15]*Pike County Democrat,* July 18, 1894.

[16]*Pike County Democrat,* July 28, 1894.

[17]*Pike County Democrat,* August 8, 1894.

[18]*Pike County Democrat,* August 8, 1894.

[19]James Sanderson, Pike County Historian, in notes prepared for the Court House Tour, September, 1988.

[20]*Barry Adage,* September 19, 1894.

[21]*Pike County Democrat,* November 14, 1894.

[22]Grace Matteson's files, unnumbered. Pike County Historical Society, Pittsfield, Illinois.

[23]Grace Matteson's files, unnumbered. Pike County Historical Society, Pittsfield, Illinois.

[24]*Pike Press,* November 28, 1990.

[25]*Pike County Times,* November 17, 1937.

[26]James Sanderson, Pike County Historian, in notes prepared for the Court House tour, September, 1988.

[27]Judge Cecil Burrows, program for the Pike County Historical Society, December 10, 1990.

[28]James Sanderson, Pike County Historian, in notes prepared for the Court House tour, September 1988.

[29]*Court House: A Photographic Document,* ed. Richard Pare (New York; Horizon Press, 1978), p.220.

THE COMMERCIAL FAILURE OF THE HENNEPIN CANAL

Donald W. Griffin

From its conception as a major transportation link between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers that would shorten the distance from the Upper Midwest to Chicago and the East, the Hennepin Canal was plagued by a number of questionable political and construction decisions and physical problems.[1] Equally significant, throughout its commercial life, which ended on July 1, 1951, the economic viability of the canal was affected by events taking place elsewhere.

Little detail is presented here for the years the canal was a commercial waterway.[2] Instead, events leading up to that time are sketched to identify factors which affected or otherwise influenced its commercial function. In turn, those factors (and others that could not have been anticipated) are discussed at some length. The factors associated with the Hennepin Canal's commercial failure run through its history. They do, however, assume their greatest importance when viewed individually.[3]

Early but limited support for a canal was based upon land speculation and the clamor for internal improvements that characterized state politics in the 1830s. Further, the Hennepin Canal, in conjunction with the Illinois and Michigan Canal whose construction began in 1836, would reduce the distance between Chicago (and the Great Lakes) and the Upper Mississippi above Rock Island by some 420 miles. The Panic of 1837 effectively eliminated any potential state funding for the canal. State and regional interest in the Hennepin Canal declined with the construction of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad in the 1850s, which followed the route up the Bureau Creek valley envisioned for the canal. However, local support for a canal remained, and in 1866 the citizens of Dixon, Illinois, raised funds and hired an engineer to survey a route from Hennepin to Watertown on the Mississippi River. (The Watertown terminus was at Campbell's Island, upstream from the Rock Island Arsenal.) A feeder to supply water to the main line of the canal was to extend south from Dixon on the Rock River. The canal was to have a water line (bank to bank) of sixty feet, a channel depth of six feet, and locks 150 feet in length and 21 feet in width. The estimated construction cost was $4,500,000.[4]

Coincidentally, in the late 1860s regional interest in the canal began to gain momentum, in large part because of the rise of the Grange movement with its demand for cheap transportation either in the form of reduced railroad freight rates or government support for a viable competitor to the railroads such as canals. Increased lobbying by the Grange and its political allies resulted in the first survey of the canal in 1870 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers; the survey route was similar to the 1866 route. The canal and lock dimensions in the 1870 survey corresponded in size with those intended for improving navigation on the Illinois

River, namely a water line of 160 feet, a channel depth of seven feet, and locks 350 feet by 70 feet; the Dixon feeder was to have a water line of 140 feet and a depth of seven feet. The projected cost was $12,500,000.[5] However, in 1874 another survey was ordered and an estimate of $4,541,000 given for a canal from Hennepin to Watertown with locks 170 feet by 30 feet, dimensions similar to those recommended in the 1866 survey.[6]

While no federal funds were authorized for canal construction, the agitation by the Grange for a cheap transportation alternative to the railroads continued, and was expanded to include lobbying by commercial and municipal groups. This latest effort resulted in Congress passing legislation on August 2, 1882, that authorized yet another survey of the canal, but with the provision "that nothing herein shall be construed to commit the Government to proceed with construction of the said improvement."[7]

The fourth survey was conducted by the Corps in the fall of 1882. The survey report recommended three routes for the western section of the canal's main line: the eastern section from the Illinois River to the feeder junction was the same for each route as was the feeder from Dixon. From the feeder, the Marais d'Osier (willow marsh) route extended to the northwest to a local marsh area known as Penney's Slough, crossed the Rock River, and reached the Mississippi River south of Fulton.[8] The total length between the two rivers was sixty-four miles.[9]

A second route extended from the feeder to Watertown and generally followed the route surveyed in 1870; its length was sixty-five miles. The third route (Rock Island) branched off the Watertown route and used the Green and Rock rivers to Milan, where it bypassed the rapids of the Lower Rock to the Mississippi River. Its total length was seventy-five and one-half miles. The canal and the feeder were to have a water line of eighty feet, a depth of seven feet, and locks 170 feet long and 30 feet wide, the size recommended in the 1874 report, but one-half the recommended size in the 1870 report. [10] The report summary noted the distinct advantages of the Marais d'Osier route over the other two routes.

The issue of a specific canal route remained unresolved. Commercial interests in Moline, Rock Island, and Davenport argued especially for the Watertown route, even to the complete abandonment of the Marais d'Osier route. [11] Additional surveys were carried out in the fall of 1885 and early 1886 on variations of the Watertown and Rock Island routes surveyed in 1882, or a total of five routes from the feeder summit to the Mississippi River.[12] In 1886 Congress appointed a board of engineers to examine the proposed routes and indicate the effect the canal would have on national commerce. The board recommended the Marais d'Osier route, but the chief of engineers dissented, stating:

> . . . although the Marais d'Osier route, with a terminus near Albany forms the cheapest and shortest line, and involves less lockage, it is by no means clear in the present condition of the commercial relations existing on the two sides of the river, that it would be a profitable route.[13]

On August 11, 1888, Congress changed the name of the Hennepin Canal to the Illinois and Mississippi Canal; two months later the secretary of war designated the Rock Island route via Penney's Slough "as the most economical and

capacious. . . .''[14] Between 1888 and 1890 modifications were made to the route,[15] and on September 19, 1890, Congress authorized construction of the canal; the initial appropriation was $500,000. After nearly thirty years of effort, the Hennepin Canal was about to become a reality, but, as events were to show, not without further changes in the canal route and the resolution of a variety of problems that could not be (or were not) anticipated.

The 1890 legislation stipulated that the canal was to have a width of eighty feet, a depth of seven feet, and locks 170 feet in length and 30 feet in width, with a capacity for vessels of at least 280 tons burden; in 1891 lock width was increased to 35 feet, and authority given to use Portland cement concrete instead of cut stone for canal locks, piers, aqueducts, abutments, and culverts.[16] Canal construction occurred in three phases, namely the eastern and western sections of the main line, and the feeder. The western section was subdivided further into three construction segments: the route west from the summit to the Rock River, the Rock River section at the lower rapids, and the four and one-half mile Milan section that bypassed the lower rapids and ended at the Mississippi River. (The Milan section was relocated from the north to the south bank of the Rock River in 1891.)[17]

By June of 1892 right-of-way had been purchased and contracts awarded for the Milan section; work began in July. One month later Congress passed legislation reducing the work day for laborers employed by the federal government or its contractors from ten hours to eight hours. The result was a 25 percent increase in the cost of labor, and new bids had to be let at higher costs.[18] The Milan section was completed in the fall of 1894, but not opened to traffic until April 17, 1895. The construction of two dams across the north and south channels of the Rock River to provide a pool above the rapids was completed at the same time.[19]

The way in which funds were appropriated for construction made it extremely difficult to acquire right-of-way and, in the long run, increased the cost of the canal.

> At present rates of appropriation, $500,000 every 2 years, it will take 28 years to complete this canal, before the termination of which much additional money will be required to maintain the work previously done, and as the work will be of no special utility until completed throughout its entire extent, it is manifest that provision should be made for its much more rapid prosecution. Even at the rate of appropriation here, $1,700,000 biennially, it will take 8 years to complete this work, which is a reasonable and practicable time.[20]

The problem of adequate, annual funding for acquiring right-of-way and constructing the canal was compounded by the River and Harbor Act of 1896, which limited the amount of contract obligations incurred in any one fiscal year to an average of $400,000.[21]

The start of construction on the third segment of the western section, the line from the summit to the Rock River, was delayed until 1897. When authority to build the canal was given in 1890, the line from the summit west was through Penney's Slough. Subsequently, it was determined that the route had serious problems, the major one being the aqueduct over the Green River. There was not enough headroom over the stream and the ". . . aqueduct would be in danger

at every high water carrying drift or ice.[22] Other routes were surveyed in 1893 and 1895-96; in 1896 the section was relocated from Penney's Slough to the Green River valley.[23]

Work on the eastern section from the Illinois River to the summit began in 1894 and took the longest of any section to complete. Engineering difficulties included the need for twenty-one locks in the eighteen-mile segment that followed the Bureau Creek valley, the construction of three aqueducts across the creek and its two branches (a fourth aqueduct that recrossed Bureau Creek was eliminated), and excavation and the hauling of construction materials by a temporary three-foot gauge railway because of the narrow upper creek valley. A more major excavation problem was encountered in the eastern area of the summit. Borings taken in the 1870 and 1882 surveys had found the area to be stable for building the canal prism. Once excavation began, the area was found to be a peat bog, known locally as Cecil's Slough. To complicate matters, the contractors who started the excavation were dismissed and the project was finished by the Corps of Engineers.[24]

A different set of problems and delays were associated with the feeder. Canal surveys beginning in 1866 called for a feeder line from Dixon on the Rock River south to the summit. In the winter of 1890, businessmen in Sterling, downriver from Dixon, funded a survey for a feeder line from Rock Falls or Sterling. The proposal was presented to the secretary of war, who authorized a resurvey of the Dixon line and detailed surveys and estimates for a line from Sterling. The surveys were made, and in 1896 the Sterling line (more correctly the Rock Falls line) was adopted.[25]

Excavation of the feeder began in 1899, but was not completed until 1906 because of lawsuits and construction changes. The Sterling Hydraulic Company brought suit, charging their water rights would suffer by the construction of a crib (fixed) dam across the Rock River. The issue was finally settled in late 1906, but only after the dam was built with movable gates.[26] A second legal problem had to be settled before the feeder could be completed. In 1900 highway commissioners filed suit to increase the support strength of the bridges across the feeder to "100 pounds per square foot of floor of surface, or 20 percent more than the load formally accepted as sufficient under the best specifications."[27] Eventually, twenty-one bridges were built at the new (and more costly) highway standards.[28]

The delays, and the need for additional funds to complete the feeder, caused the engineer in charge of construction to propose . . . abandoning the navigable feature of the feeder by substituting low level timber trestle bridges for the highway crossings of the feeder, and substituting a fixed crib dam at Sterling for a movable steel and concrete dam.[29] Further, he recommended that "As an alternate it may be that a pumping station where the feeder crosses Green River would, by supplying water to the summit level, enable the main line of the canal to be opened at less first cost."[30] A dam across Bureau Creek above Aqueduct 2 would supply water through a spillway at Lock 12 for use as a feeder for the canal below Lock 11.[31]

A variety of other factors increased the cost of canal construction. Railway

bridges over the canal were changed from swing to fixed spans, and the court decreed that service on the lines be maintained while the bridges were being built.[32] Sections of the empty canal prism on the feeder and western section had to be reinforced to prevent slumping caused by heavy rains;[33] also, there were instances of vandalism and even outright destruction of feeder banks.[34]

Construction of the canal ended officially on October 21, 1907, more than fifteen years after work began on the Milan section and nearly double the eight years projected in 1891.[35] Water was let into the feeder on October 16, 1907,[36] and on November 8 the U.S. *Marion*, the first vessel to travel the seventy-five-mile main line, entered Lock 1. One week later the *Marion* left Lock 32 and entered the Mississippi River. In an omen of things to come, the start of the 1908 navigational season was delayed until May because of a break in the canal.[37]

The Hennepin Canal was a commercial waterway from April 12, 1895, to July 1, 1951. Yet its function as a transportation link between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers spanned only a forty-four-year period beginning in 1908, a period only slightly longer than the time it took to survey and construct the canal. The opening of the Hennepin to through traffic did have the effect of reducing railroad freight rates, but the decrease was ". . . largely realized from other causes, among which competition among railroads and larger train loads may be mentioned."[38] Indeed, throughout its commercial history much of the tonnage carried on the main line consisted of materials and equipment used in the canal's operation and maintenance; in some years this tonnage exceeded the amount of freight transported.

The hoped-for commerce did not materialize, although optimism about the canal's potential continued until 1930.[39]

> . . . now that the canal is available the demand from shippers, dealers, and producers can be expected to develop anew when it is demonstrated that this channel is practicable and profitable for their purpose.[40]

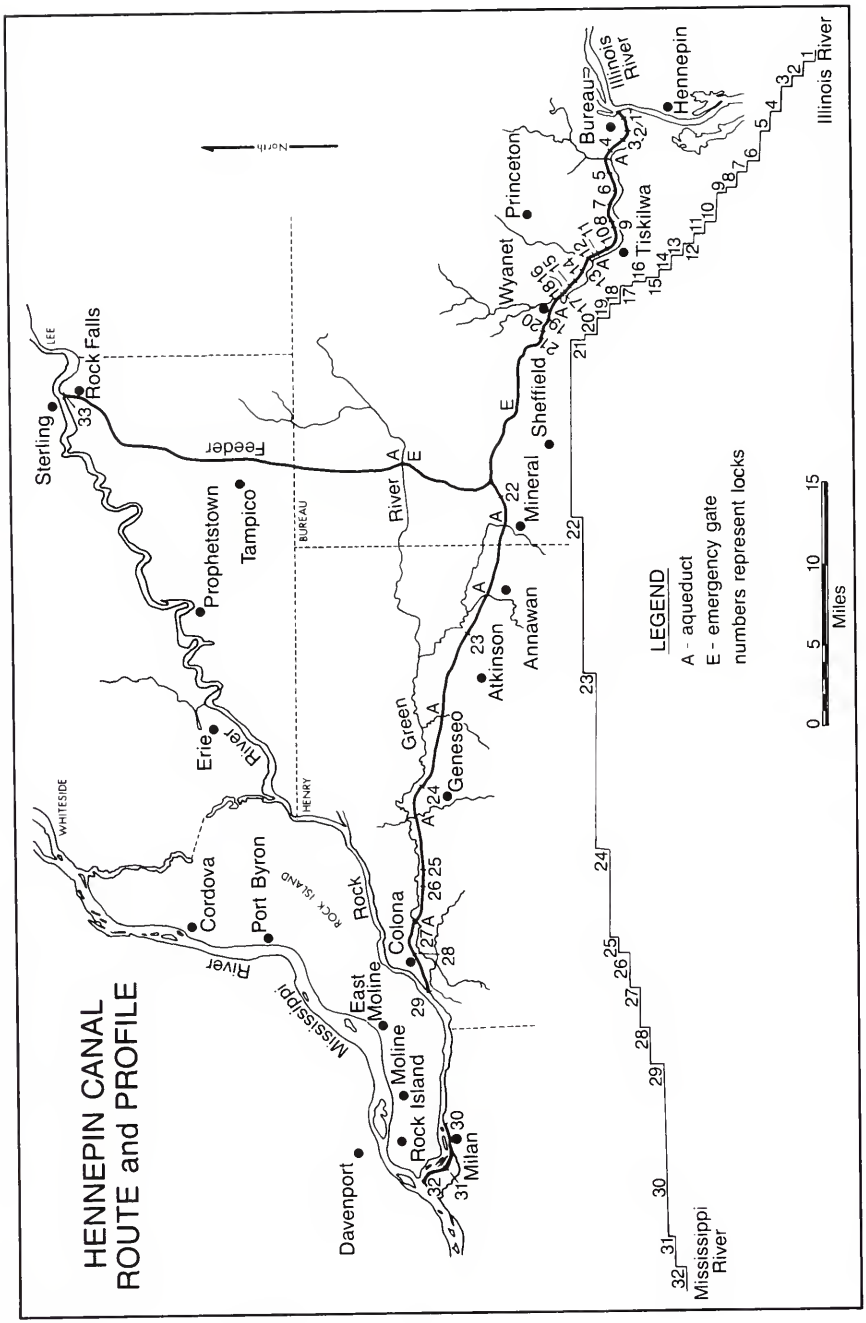
> The commerce is not commensurate with the cost of the canal and its operation, but it is expected that when the Illinois & Michigan Canal is widened and deepened there will be considerable traffic from Chicago and Lake Michigan through to the Mississippi River at Rock Island and Davenport.[41]

> The commerce is not commensurate with the cost of the canal and its operation, but it is hoped that when the Illinois waterway now under construction by the State of Illinois is completed there will be considerable traffic from Chicago and Lake Michigan through to the Mississippi River at Rock Island and Davenport.[42]

Table I tells the story of the commercial canal. Yearly tonnage increased from 1908 through the 1920s, peaking in 1929. Totals fluctuated in the 1930s and 1940s, but declined to zero in 1948 and in 1951 when the canal was closed to commercial traffic.

Decisions made before the canal was constructed helped determine its fate; other decisions delayed construction. Still other factors combined with these early decisions to ensure that the Hennepin Canal would not be a viable commercial waterway.

One obvious liability was the nature of the canal route from the Illinois River



The completed canal and feeder. Source: Illinois and Mississippi Canal Illinois, Project Map (Corps of Engineers, Rock Island District, June 30, 1961).

The lower (eastern) end of Lock 17 with a boat being lowered to the downstream pool level, September 9, 1908. (Photograph courtesy of Hennepin Canal Parkway.)

A packet boat with barge in two moving upstream (west) from Lock 13. November 12, 1920. The double tracks of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad parallel the canal. (Photograph courtesy of Hennepin Canal Parkway.)

Gillen Construction Company barge entering the lower (downstream) end of Lock 15, April 11, 1933. The photograph illustrates the maximum size barge that could be locked through the canal. (Photograph courtesy of Hennepin Canal Parkway.)

to the summit level west of Wyanet. In slightly more than seventeen miles, the canal ascended 196 feet through a series of twenty-one locks. Fourteen of the locks were less than one mile apart; the distance between four of the locks was less than one-half mile.[43] Whether traffic was moving up or down the canal, the number of lockages created a bottleneck that limited the amount of freight transported.[44]

Table 1. Commercial Freight Transported on the Hennepin Canal, 1895-1951[1]

Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons
1895	6	1915	11,279	1935	11,578
1896	1,865	1916	9,282	1936	17,164
1897	9,583	1917	15,662	1937	18,086
1898	20,430	1918	11,164	1938	13,435
1899	15,005	1919	10,295	1939	6,693
1900	18,682	1920	7,428	1940	14,542
1901	6,238	1921	12,949	1941	12,146
1902	1,478	1922	11,166	1942	4,153
1903	1,333	1923	10,093	1943	11,712
1904	544	1924	11,627	1944	13,554
1905	10,555	1925	14,929	1945	14,146
1906	669	1926	14,136	1946	866
1907	3,472	1927	14,513	1947	394
1908	1,568	1928	18,611	1948	——
1909	2,225	1929	30,161	1949	1.034
1910	8,720	1930	18,142	1950	1,198
1911	9,118	1931	12,680	1951	——
1912	9,103	1932	6,176		
1913	11,856	1933	6,275		
1914	12,222	1934	4,559		

[1]The tonnage totals shown for the years 1895-1907 are for the Milan section. The yearly totals for this thirteen-year period are misleading as more often than not the Corps reports make no distinction between commercial freight and the freight or materials carried by government craft for use in canal construction or maintenance.

Sources: Chief of Engineers, 1900-08, 1915-16, 1920, 1926, 1930, 1937, 1943, and 1952.

Other liabilities-problems is a better term—were associated with the eastern section. The route from the Illinois followed the Bureau Creek valley, a reasonably wide floodplain in its lower reaches, but narrow at the upper or summit end.

> Evidently the only feasible route from near Hennepin to about 15 miles westward lies within the valley of Bureau Creek, a stream usually of small proportions, but which becomes in flood season a torrential river, as evinced by the water-marks left on trees, buildings, and other structures in the flood of July, 1882 . . . Another prominent and considerable obstacle to an economical construction through many parts of this valley is the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, which has naturally taken the most practicable locations between the stream and bordering hills.[45]

Three aqueducts crossed Bureau Creek and its two tributaries: Aqueduct 1 (and Lock 4) over the East Branch; Aqueduct 2 (and Lock 12) over Bureau Creek; and Aqueduct 3 over the West Branch. It was at these locations the streams posed a major threat to the canal.

> At aqueduct No. 1 the floods bring down a large amount of timber and other debris which catches on the abutments and at times forms almost a complete dam from the girders to the bottom of the creek. This has been kept open by having a force of laborers working while the water was high, and the debris could then be loosened and floated out under the aqueduct...[46]

Flooding and related physical problems were present even before the eastern section of the canal was opened to commercial traffic.

> On July 14, Bureau Creek, which lies adjacent to the canal from miles 2 to 16, owing to extensive rains, overflowed its banks and reached a higher stage than ever known, and in many places the water stood against the canal embankments. On mile 1, 600 feet east of Lock 7, the water ran through a muskrat den in the embankment and caused it to break, letting into the canal a volume of water almost equal to its full capacity. This swept down the canal with great velocity, undermined several splay walls at locks and bridges, caused the stone revetment to slide in many places, and made two other crevasses in the embankments on miles 2 and 4. The canal embankments are in many places honeycombed by the dens of muskrats and ground hogs, and great care must be exercised in future to prevent the creek from breaking in during freshets, and also to prevent breaks in the embankment when water is turned into the canal.[47]

> The reach of water between Locks 3 and 4 was subjected to the severest test of any part of the eastern section when the ice went out of Bureau Creek in March. A gorge of ice formed and raised the water to within 11 inches of the top of the embankment and had it not been for the prompt action of the laborers employed to patrol the banks a number of crevasses would have been made. A crevasse about 110 feet in length was made through the towpath embankment 1,000 feet east of Lock 4, where water was first discovered pouring through a muskrat hole extending through the embankment. The water was so high on the outside and the ground frozen to such a depth that a trench could not be dug in time to intercept it before it was beyond control.[48]

> During the high water in Bureau Creek, which occurred in April, 1905, the canal banks were patrolled, and a number of leaks were discovered on miles 4, 5, and 6, any of which, if not stopped in time, would have caused a crevasse in the embankment.[49]

The summit level presented a different problem. Immediately west and north of the Bureau Creek valley the route cut through the western edge of the Bloomington Moraine, an area characterized by water-deposited material that marked the maximum extent of Wisconsinan glaciation during the Pleistocene period. Subsequent erosion dissected the moraine surface, and sediment and organic material were deposited in lower-lying areas producing sloughs. Cecil's Slough in particular caused major problems in completing the eastern section, effectively delaying the opening of the canal.

Test borings taken in the initial canal survey showed stable sub-surface material through the slough, which was two miles long and one mile wide. However, when excavation began in 1897 ". . . it was found to overlie a peat bog of such depth as to preclude holding the banks by any form of revetment except at very great cost, and with certainty that the canal embankment would neither stand nor be sustained."[50] By 1899 only 30 percent of the work had been completed and surveys were made of alternate routes; ultimately it was decided to follow the original survey line through the slough.[51] Cecil's Slough was finally excavated through an elaborate cableway, conveyor system,[52] but it continued to be a problem in later years and constant maintenance was needed to keep a seven-foot channel.[53]

The western and feeder sections were not immune to physical problems. Beginning at mile eighteen (from the Illinois River) and extending north and west through Cecil's Slough, across the summit level, and then to Lock 29 on the Lower Rock at Colona—a distance of fifty-four miles—the canal banks were above the adjacent landscape; the same was true for the twenty-nine-mile feeder line from Rock Falls to the summit. Throughout the combined distance of seventy-three miles the elevated canal was subject to several hazards including ice gorges and muskrat burrows.[54] Another hazard in the western section (and portions of the feeder) was in the nature of the soil material that was used to construct the elevated banks. Most of the route lay in the Green River lowland, a broad valley whose shape was formed largely at the end of the Pleistocene when the stream served as a meltwater channel for the retreating glaciers. Much of the deposited sediment was fine silt and sand; canal banks made up of these materials were susceptible to erosion.

> In my project of April 26, 1901, I had expressed grave doubts about completing the canal for practical service for the original estimate of $6,925,960, made in 1890, and stated that the ultimate cost might exceed $8,500,000.
>
> The chief item of increased cost is in revetment. After two years' charge of the work and an intimate knowledge of it from frequent personal inspections, I am convinced that this is not only essential, as Major Marshall said, but of vital importance to the safety and protection of the canal banks, and that the work should not be delayed a moment longer than can be avoided. The canal route lies almost wholly in sandy soil, and the deterioration due to storms is already great. Wave wash would intensify the damage. Should the work be postponed until after the canal is opened for traffic, its operation would have to be suspended by drawing down the levels below the footing required for revetment, thus putting the canal out of service for a long period. . . .[55]

Even where the canal was not elevated, sandy soils were a problem.

> Where the feeder is in sand cutting, notably in miles, 6, 7, and 8 and miles 12 to 16, inclusive, great damage has been done the slopes by the water running down them into the feeder. The damage has been greatest where the towpath is 3 or 4 feet below the surface of the ground. In some places the gullies have extended back the full width of the towpath. These damages were repaired, and in hopes of preventing a recurrence of the damage box drains were placed at intervals of about 500 feet and connected with similar boxes placed on the slopes. . . .[56]

Damage to canal banks was a recurring problem and virtually every Corps report beginning in 1908 contains reference to repairs or delays in starting the navigation season because of breaks. The need for continuous and sometimes costly maintenance weighed heavy in the Corps' decision to close the canal in 1951.[57]

Several decisions discussed previously caused so many construction delays that by the time the canal was completed it did not offer an economic alternative to

the railroads. These decisions were the manner in which appropriations were allocated for acquiring right-of-way and building the canal, the delay in locating the canal feeder, and the change in the route of the western section. Still, it was the earlier decision to reduce canal locks and dimensions that, more than any one factor, sealed the canal's fate as a commercial waterway.

To be successful, the canal had to be compatible with the operations of the two waterways it was to connect, the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. The lock dimensions recommended in the 1870 survey corresponded to those adopted for improving the Lower Illinois River below La Salle. The 1874 survey report stressed this connection."The dimensions there adopted, as you are aware, are as follows, viz, lock chambers, 350 by 75 feet. A restriction to these dimensions is rendered necessary in order to produce a complete and homogeneous system of navigation between the lake and the great rivers of the West."[58] The report recommended as well that the route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River be considered as three sections: an independent canal from Chicago to Joliet (the Illinois and Michigan Canal); improvement of the Illinois River between Joliet and La Salle with locks and dams bypassing the Illinois and Michigan Canal; and the Hennepin Canal.[59] The first two sections were surveyed in detail, but the resurvey of the Hennepin Canal section was stopped because of bad weather (the survey began on November 14). Consequently, the 1870 route between Hennepin and Watertown was adopted, but with locks 170 feet long and 30 feet wide.[60]

The larger lock dimensions adopted for the Lower Illinois were being constructed on the Mississippi. The Des Moines Rapids Canal at Keokuk was opened to traffic in 1877. The three-mile canal had lock chambers (three) 310 feet long and 80 feet wide, and a six-foot depth large enough for all boats (except one) in use on the Upper Mississippi.[61] Upriver at Moline, construction was started in April of 1906 on a lock 325 feet by 80 feet (and a six-foot depth); the lock opened for traffic on December 23, 1907.[62]

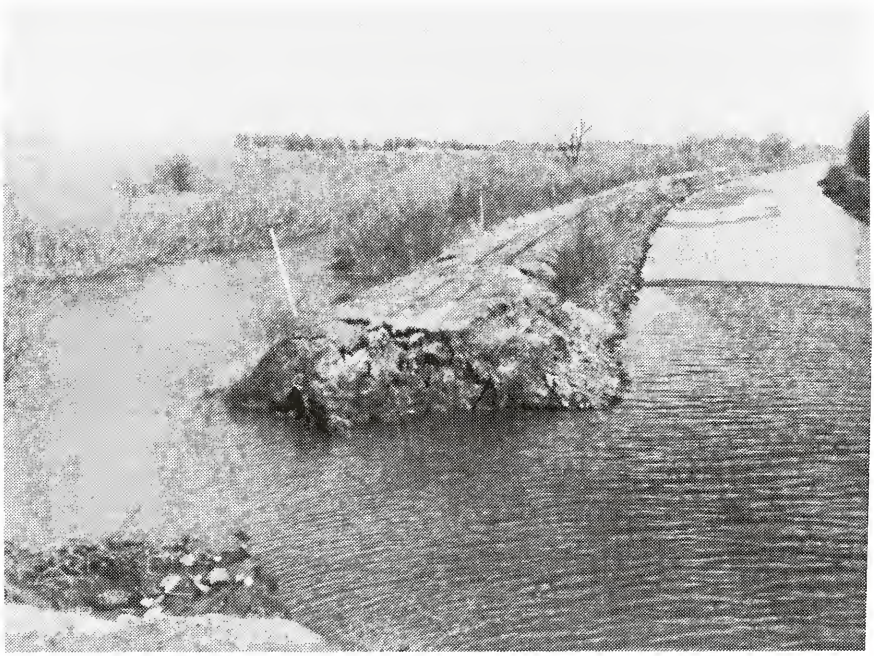
Thus, even before the Hennepin was opened to commercial traffic in 1908, the improvements made on the two rivers greatly exceeded the canal's capacity. The question is why was the Hennepin Canal built with lock dimensions approximately one-half the size that existed on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers? The answer appears to lie in the related factors of river navigation at the time of the 1870 survey and water supply.

> . . . The locks for the main canal are 170 feet long and 30 feet wide. These latter dimensions were adopted after considering the questions of low-water navigation on the Upper Mississippi, as affecting barge transportation. The hull measurement of the larger size barges adapted to the passage of the locks is, according to the custom-house authorities about 300 tons, though with deeper water afforded by higher stages of the river, and also by the proposed dimensions of the canal, such barges can, with the box-top, carry over 600 tons; but we had to be governed by the minimum depth of the boats at the most favorable stage of the main river.[63]

The Des Moines Rapids Canal and the locks on the Mississippi and Illinois drew their water from upstream, a seemingly inexhaustible source, except, possibly, in the low-water season. As the main line of the Hennepin Canal was supplied by water drawn from the Rock River through a feeder line, the effect on that source had to be calculated. Based upon lock dimensions of 170 feet by

The East Branch of Bureau Creek as it flows under Aqueduct 1, showing water-borne debris and silt, July 16, 1941. The view is toward the southwest. (Photograph courtesy of Illinois State Archives.)

Lock 21 looking west showing the nearly empty lower pool drained by a break in the canal downstream, March 16, 1934. (Photograph courtesy of Hennepin Canal Parkway.)



A break of approximately thirty feet in the north bank of the canal west of Lock 27, March 8, 1955. The break depicts the physical problems associated with the elevated portion of the canal during and after its use as a commercial waterway. (Photograph courtesy of Hennepin Canal Parkway.)

30 feet and the maximum number of expected daily lockages (90), the amount of water taken from the Rock at its very lowest stage was estimated to be 5.2 percent of the river's discharge for the Marais d'Osier route, 5.7 percent for the Watertown route, and 5.5 percent for the Rock Island route.[64] Larger lock dimensions would have drawn significantly more discharge from the river, which, at the time, was politically unacceptable .[65]

The engineers in charge of building the Hennepin Canal were well aware of the need for a unified waterway system.

> To secure, therefore, the full benefits to be derived form the construction of the proposed line, either the Illinois and Michigan Canal should be enlarged to similar capacity or, still better, the Government extend the capacious channels now nearing completion on the Lower Illinois River to Lake Michigan via the Upper Illinois and Des Plaines rivers and the canal across the Chicago divide.
>
> Without such work the proposed Illinois and Mississippi Canal will be simply a local highway of importance to the immediate neighborhood of its channel, and a regulator of local freights, but regarded as a national highway of but comparatively small significance.[66]

This conclusion, made in 1890, would serve as an epitaph for the canal.

Factors not directly associated with the canal and beyond the control of the Corps engineers affected its viability as a commercial waterway. The enactment of the eight-hour work day in 1892 is an example of an external factor that could not have been anticipated when canal costs were calculated in 1888. Other events were to have a more profound effect.

By 1900 railroads had become more efficient and larger amounts of freight, including grain, were being transported economically over long distances.[67] In the mid-1920s, the state of Illinois authorized improvement of the Illinois River from Lockport to Utica, the second of the three sections identified in 1875 as necessary links between Chicago and the Mississippi River. At the same time the Corps was improving the Illinois from Utica to the Mississippi River; similar improvements were to follow on the Upper Mississippi beginning in 1931.[68] When completed, the two rivers had nine-foot channels and locks 600 feet by 110 feet. Quite simply, the Hennepin Canal with locks 170 feet by 35 feet could no longer serve as a link in a commercial waterway system. Also, because the canal route purposefully bypassed communities, there were no local markets for freight such as those commanded first by the railroads, and later by truck transport.[69] A final event was the Great Depression, which removed all possibility that the canal would move large volumes of traffic.

In retrospect, the Hennepin Canal was destined to fail as a commercial waterway. If the canal had been built with the lock dimensions recommended in 1870, more freight may have been transported and, conceivably, the argument for expansion to correspond with later improvements on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers would have received support. Still, even with larger locks and canal capacity, there was the matter of water supply from the Rock River, and, the same physical problems would have existed regardless of the route followed to the Mississippi River. External factors such as the Great Depression could not be changed. Also, being in one state, the canal lacked the political support to be part of a national agenda of public improvements.

On the positive side, the innovation of using Portland cement for canal struc-

tures served as the basis for constructing future waterways, including the Panama Canal. Further, the legacy of the Hennepin Canal is not its commercial failure, but its present status as the second largest state park in Illinois.

NOTES

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[1]The canal derives its name from the village of Hennepin, which is on the eastern side of the Illinois River, and one and three-quarter miles downstream from what was to be the site of Lock 1. The name was used during the early lobbying efforts in the 1860s, but then changed to the Illinois and Mississippi Canal in 1888 to suggest that the waterway had more than local significance. During the periods of canal construction and operation by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the official title was the Illinois and Mississippi Canal, although the engineers in charge of construction and local residents still referred to it as the Hennepin Canal. Upon transfer to the state of Illinois in 1971, the canal became known first as the Hennepin Canal State Trail, and subsequently as the Hennepin Canal Parkway.

[2]Previous studies, several of which have appeared in *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, have touched upon the commerial aspects of the canal as part of the waterway's larger history. See, for example, Donald W. Griffin, "Recollections of the Hennepin Canal," *Western Ilinois Regional Studies*, vol., 4, no. 1 (1981), pp. 50-76; Gerald A. Newton, John A. McFarland, and Donald W. Griffin, "The Hennepin Canal: New Life for an Old Waterway," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1984), pp. 34-46; and Donald W. Griffin, "The Hennepin Canal as Community," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1987), pp. 42-51. See as well Ruth J. Armstrong, "The Illinois and Mississippi (Hennepin Canal)" (Master's thesis, Illinois State University, 1961); John Joseph Steinbach, "History of the Illinois and Mississippi Canal" (Master's thesis, Illinois State University, 1964); Gerald A. Newton, "National Heritage Corridor Criteria: The Hennepin Canal as a Case Study" (Master's thesis, Western Illinois University, 1985); and Donald W. Griffin, *The Hennepin Canal, Commercial Waterway to State Park* (Lockport, Illinois: Illinois Canal Society, 1986). The theses are on file in the Archives and Special Collections unit of the Western Illinois University Library.

[3]Most of the information is drawn from U.S. Army Corps of Engineers annual reports (and report appendices). Corps reports that deal exclusively with the Hennepin Canal from 1875 through 1923 are on file in the Archives and Special Collections unit of the Western Illinois University Library.

[4]Report of the War Department, Report of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1883, p. 1755. Hereafter all Corps annual reports are cited as Chief of Engineers.

[5]Ibid., pp. 1755-56.

[6]Ibid., p. 1756.

[7]Ibid., p. 1755. Congress appeared to be reluctant to make a national commitment for a canal that was confined entirely to one state. The perception that the Hennepin Canal was of local importance only was to plague canal supporters. Even the name change in 1888 to the Illinois and Mississippi Canal failed to attach national importance to the waterway.

[8]Marais d'Osier was more commonly known as Meredosia, which referred to a natural channel once occupied by the Mississippi River. When the river was in high water (typically in the spring), steamboats with shallow drafts could cross to the Rock River. The channel, and this portion of the proposed canal route, marks the boundary of Rock Island and Whiteside counties.

[9]Ibid. p. 1757.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Chief of Engineers, 1886, p. 1711.

[12]As shown in the following summary table the Marais d'Osier route had clear advantages over the other routes.

Route	Distance in miles	Number of of locks[1]	Estimated cost[2]
Marais d'Osier	64.0	8	$5,811,368
Watertown via Penney's Slough[3]	64.9	11	6,306,552
Watertown via Green River	65.2	9	7,207,646
Rock Island via Penney's Slough[3]	77.0	11	6,554,052
Rock Island via Green River	74.5	11	6,709,536

[1]The twenty-three locks from the Illinois River to the summit feeder were common to all routes.

[2]Includes $1,664,118 for the cost of the feeder from Dixon to the summit, a distance of thirty-seven miles.

[3]The two additional routes surveyed in 1885-86.

Sources: Chief of Engineers, 1883, pp. 1758, 1760; Chief of Engineers, 1886, pp. 1709, 1719-25; Map of the Illinois and Michigan Canal and Proposed Hennepin Canal, Board of Engineers, August 13, 1886.

In addition to being the cheapest to construct, the Marais d'Osier route was shorter and came closer to fulfilling the requirement of a practical route between the Upper Midwest and Chicago. Also, the Mississippi River terminus of the route was upriver from two series of rapids, one at Le Claire, the other at Rock Island. The Watertown route ended below the Le Claire Rapids, but above the Rock Island Rapids; the Rock Island routes ended downstream from both rapids. This meant that boats travelling between the Upper Mississippi and Illinois rivers would have to navigate through rapids to reach the two Watertown and Rock Island routes. While later construction of locks and dams at Hampton and Arsenal Island would remove these navigational hazards, in 1886 they were definite factors to consider in locating a canal route.

[13]Chief of Engineers, 1887, pp. 2127-28.

[14]Chief of Engineers, 1887, p. 2148. Corps of Engineers reports fail to give a rationale for why the Rock Island via Penney's Slough route was the "most economical and capricious." Undoubtedly, the chief of engineers' opposition to the Marais d'Osier route was a factor. Another reason may have been the commercial interests in the Rock Island-Moline-Davenport urban area that would be served by the canal. A third reason may have been the presence of the district Corps headquarters, which was at the Rock Island Arsenal.

[15]One lock was added to the eastern section, the initial point of the feeder on the Rock River at Dixon was moved downstream two and one-half miles, and the terminus on the Mississippi was moved to the mouth of the Rock River. (Chief of Engineers, 1890, pp. 2582-83.)

[16]Chief of Engineers, 1891, p. 2652. The case for increasing lock width from thirty to thirty-five feet is outlined in considerable detail in a letter from Captain W. L. Marshall to the chief of engineers. (Marshall was the Corps officer who was in charge of canal construction between 1890 and 1900.) Marshall's letter argued further that the savings from using artificial stone (concrete) would more than pay for increasing canal width. (Ibid., pp. 2651-52.) More significant, and as was noted in a later Corps report, "the work on this canal marks the beginning in America of construction of concrete without stone facing applied to canal locks." (Chief of Engineers, 1894, p. 2164.)

[17]Chief of Engineers, 1892, p. 320. A major reason for the change was the increased right-of-way payments that would be demanded by the property owners for their parcels, which would be based upon the value of the water power created by the government dams across the Rock River. (Chief of Engineers, 1891, p. 2635.) A detailed discussion of the two routes is found on pages 2304-12 of the 1892 report of the chief of engineers.

[18]Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2020.

[19]However, because three bridges above the dams had low clearances, the first traffic on the Milan section consisted mainly of excursion and pleasure craft, and was limited to daylight hours. The problem was not resolved until 1897 when a draw was placed in the first of three bridges, but only after litigation with the city of Moline. (Chief of Engineers, 1895, p. 375.)

[20]Chief of Engineers, 1891, p. 2639.

[21]Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2017. The combined effects of the way funds were appropriated and the 1896 ceiling on contracts can be seen in the following summary of canal expenditures through 1908 when the main line was opened to commercial traffic. The total exceeded the 1890 estimated cost of $6,925,960 by approximately $400,000. The use of concrete helped to reduce the additional cost of construction, which could have been as high as $1,800,000.

Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure
1891	$ 11,755.36	1901	$ 971,707.35
1892	25,235.61	1902	575,605.54
1893	153,612.88	1903	380,152.62
1894	269,267.00	1904	458,601.68
1895	351,090.37	1905	587,692.25
1896	360,014.96	1906	428,381.15
1897	32,912.37	1907	267,755.82
1898	545,017.58	1908	130,866.62
1899	856,201.78		
1900	913,692.45	Total	$7,319,563.39

Source: Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2018.

[22]Chief of Engineers, 1897, p. 2868.

[23]Ibid. p. 419.

[24]Chief of Engineers, 1899, p. 2855.

[25]Chief of Engineers, 1897, pp. 2655-56. The change to Rock Falls shortened the distance of the feeder by nine miles. The line from Rock Falls to its junction with the main line (now three miles west) had to be cut down nine feet, but three locks were eliminated and the total cost was decreased by 17 percent. (Ibid., pp. 2611, 2654-55.) When constructed, the twenty-nine mile feeder dropped one foot between the Rock River and the summit.

[26]Chief of Engineers, 1902, p. 2123; Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2019. This was a specious argument at best as only about 5 percent of the river's discharge would be diverted to the feeder, the volume calculated in 1882 for the Dixon feeder. (Chief of Engineers, 1883, p. 1759.)

A further complication with dam construction was a court order that stated the Rock River was navigable between Sterling-Rock Falls and Dixon. As a consequence, a lock with the same dimensions as the main line locks was placed in the dam. (Chief of Engineers, 1901, pp. 3067, 3070.) Funds to install the lock were not appropriated until 1910. Installation was completed in 1912 at a cost of $75,000. (Chief of Engineers, 1910, p. 1965; Chief of Engineers, 1913, p. 905.)

[27]Chief of Engineers, 1902, p. 2123. The weight standards were based upon new state requirements for bridge supports.

[28]Chief of Engineers, 1906, p. 1787.

[29]Chief of Engineers, 1904, p. 2969.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Map and description prepared by Assistant Engineer James C. Long, March, 1904.

[32]Chief of Engineers, 1908, pp. 2020-21.

[33]Chief of Engineers, 1902, pp. 2118-19, 2121-22; Chief of Engineers, 1903, p. 1920.

[34]Chief of Engineers, 1903, p. 1920.

[35]While the canal locks, aqueducts, and dams were completed, making navigation possible, other canal structures—houses, bridges, and auxiliary buildings—were in various stages of construction (only twenty of the fifty-two overseer, locktender, and patrolman houses had been built).

[36]For years the empty canal prism had served as a drainage ditch that transformed poorly drained soils into productive farm land. Once the prism was filled with water the adjacent land reverted to its original condition. Farmers complained, citing increased seepage from the canal. Despite the validity of the claims, the Corps constructed seepage ditches along sections of the canal. (Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2023.)

[37]Chief of Engineers, 1908, p. 2023.

[38]Ibid., p. 686.

[39]Interestingly, after 1930 the qualified but still optimistic comments about the canal's future were replaced by statements on its deteriorating and poor condition.

[40]Ibid., p. 2022.

[41]Chief of Engineers, 1920, p. 1224.

[42]Chief of Engineers, 1930, p. 1220.

[43]The following table shows the distances between the twenty-one locks in the eastern section. Distances between the locks from the western end of the summit to the Mississippi River are included for comparison.

Lock	Distance in miles	Lock	Distance in miles
1-2	0.87	17-18	0.90
2-3	0.70	18-19	0.90
3-4	1.50	19-20	1.00
4-5	1.15	20-21	0.30
5-6	1.90	21-22	11.40[1]
6-7	0.70	22-23	9.50
7-8	1.00	23-24	10.00
8-9	0.30	24-25	5.45
9-10	1.80	25-26	0.95
10-11	0.80	26-27	2.30
11-12	0.50	27-28	2.50
12-13	0.75	28-29	2.40
13-14	0.90	29-30	8.30[2]
14-15	0.55	30-31	2.70
15-16	0.20	31-32	2.10
16-17	0.30		

[1]Summit level.

[2]Rock River from Colona to the Milan section.

Source: Chief of Engineers, 1918, pp. 1179-80.

[44]In 1890 a Corps report stated that "The extreme capacity of the canal as long as the combined lock is an element in the system, is probably 3 boats each way per hour, or 144 boats per day of 300 registered tons each, or 8,640,000 tons in 200 days, the shortest probable season of navigation. Estimated by displacement of boats instead of custom-house measurement, the extreme capacity of the canal is more than twice the above. . . ." (Chief of Engineers, 1890, pp. 2598-99.) A later Corps report stated that barges of 600 tons of freight could navigate the canal, the "extreme capacity" indicated in 1890. (Chief of Engineers, 1901, p. 3015.)

There are major problems with these assumptions. Three boats each way per hour was unrealistic (two each way was closer to the maximum) as most locks were manually operated and the locktenders had to open and close upper and lower gates. Freight would not move twenty-four hours a day, and an average navigational season of 200 days assumed that the canal and locks were in excellent condition, which often was not the case in the spring at the start of the season.

Even if the most optimistic of assumptions were used (600 tons for each barge; three lockages each way per hour for a total of six lockages; the six barges were waiting at each lock; lockages were during a twelve-hour period of daylight; and a 200-day season), it would still take one barge more than three hours to pass through the twenty-one locks in the eastern section, and another four hours to travel the distances between the locks. Under these ideal conditions the maximum amount of yearly freight handled would not exceed 720,000 tons. Regardless of how efficiently freight could be handled on the other sections of the canal, the slow passage through the eastern section put an effective ceiling on canal operations.

[45]Chief of Engineers, 1883, p. 1763.

[46]Chief of Engineers, 1904, p. 2964.

[47]Chief of Engineers, 1903, p. 1927.

[48]Chief of Engineers, 1904, p. 2964.

[49]Chief of Engineers, 1905, p. 2151.

[50]Chief of Engineers, 1900, p. 3811. Borings revealed from twenty to fifty feet of peat. To complicate matters, pockets of quicksand and muck were encountered in later excavations of the slough.

[51]A total of nine alternate lines were examined; one immediately south of the slough was approved and authority given to acquire right-of-way. That authority was rescinded and the route placed once more through the slough. The main reason for the change back to the original route was that the engineer in charge of construction felt bank revetment would solve the problem of slippage. (Index Map of the Experimental Lines Surveyed June-Dec. 1899. Around Cecil's Slough Miles 18 to 24. Illinois and Mississippi Canal; Chief of Engineers, 1901, p. 3042; Chief of Engineers, 1902, p. 2118.)

[52]The original contractor was dismissed in 1899 and the Corps assumed responsibility for excavating the slough. Descriptions (and photographs) indicate that the project was a major undertaking. A steam-driven cableway with steel buckets suspended between wooden towers 500 feet apart was constructed. The towers were mounted on railroad tracks and moved laterally during excavation. Once the prism

was completely excavated it was paved with clay to prevent water seepage from the remaining slough area. (Chief of Engineers, 1904, pp. 2965-66.)

[53]Griffin, "Recollections of the Hennepin Canal," pp. 56, 57.

[54]Locktenders and patrolmen were given exclusive trapping rights in the vicinity near their homes, which not only supplemented income, but more important it reduced the potential for breaks in the canal embankments. (Griffin, "Recollections of the Hennepin Canal," p. 54.)

[55]Chief of Engineers, 1902, pp. 2122-23.

[56]Ibid., p. 2130.

[57]The threat of canal breaks continues to the present. In the first ten years of state ownership of canal right-of-way (1970-1979), eighty breaks occurred in the canal's banks, the majority (sixty) taking place from February through May. (Unpublished listing of canal breaks compiled by Department of Conservation staff, continuous.) The most recent threat was in June of 1990 when prolonged rains caused Coal Creek north of Mineral to top its banks and flow into the canal at Aqueduct 4 (which crosses the creek). Material had to be trucked in to revet the outer bank to keep it from being breeched. (Personal conversation with Steve Moser, site superintendent, Hennepin Canal Parkway, February 4, 1991.)

[58]Chief of Engineers, 1875, p. 526. By 1884 two locks, each 350 feet long and 75 feet wide, had been constructed at Henry and Copperas Creek. Two additional locks with the same dimensions were under construction at La Grange and Kampsville. (Chief of Engineers, 1884, p. 313.)

[59]Ibid., p. 527.

[60]Chief of Engineers, 1883, p. 1756.

[61]Roald D. Tweet, "Taming the Rapids of the Upper Mississippi," *Western Illinois Regional Studies.* vol. 7, no. 2 (1984), p. 61. The Des Moines Rapids Canal was replaced in 1913 by a dam and one lock with a dimension of 400 feet by 110 feet; the channel depth was seven feet. (Tweet, p. 64.)

[62]Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[63]Chief of Engineers, 1883, p. 1758. The type of barge was actually a packet boat, whose displacement weight was governed largely by channel depth. By the time the Hennepin was opened to traffic, the channel depth of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers was seven feet, and packets were being replaced by larger barges pushed by tows.

[64]Ibid., p. 1759.

[65]Ibid. In particular, water power interests on the Rock River would challenge a greater diversion of water, just as later the Sterling Hydraulic Company brought suit on the nature of the dam at the head of the feeder.

[66]Chief of Engineers, 1890, p. 2599.

[67]Tweet, p. 62.

[68]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[69]An interesting combination of transportation systems can be seen at Annawan. In a distance of one-half mile extending from north to south are the Hennepin Canal, Interstate 80, the Iowa Interstate Railroad (formerly the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific), and U.S. Route 6.

THE US 67 CORRIDOR IN THE WPA'S ILLINOIS TOUR GUIDE

John V. Bergen

Route 67, Sabula, Iowa to Presidio, Texas. The sound is not the same as Route 66, Chicago to Los Angeles. Yet U. S. Highway 67 is still on the map, whereas the more famous US 66 —subject of numerous articles, several books, and state promotional groups—has been erased from the map in favor of the newer Interstate numbering system, i.e., I-55 in Illinois, I-44 from Saint Louis to Oklahoma City, and I-40 on to Los Angeles.[1] As the principal north-south highway in western Illinois, US 67 has little chance of being superseded by a new number from the Interstate system.

An Illinois guide published in 1939 featured US 67 in western Illinois as one of 22 tour narratives that attempted to help motorists and others to discover the landscape, communities, and historic sites. The 707-page volume is one of the state guides in the American Guide Series prepared by the Federal Writers' Project, as part of the Works Project Administration (WPA) during the Great Depression.[2]

Since its appearance on Illinois road signs in 1930, US 67 has followed the same corridor between the Quad Cities and Saint Louis metro areas (see Fig. 1). It came into being some four years after the new federal highway numbering system was inaugurated in 1926. This first "interstate" system was designed to follow existing highways, many of which were identified previously by symbols on telegraph poles and by names such as the Lincoln Highway (US 30), the National Old Trails Highway (US 40), or the Mississippi Valley Highway (corresponding to US 67 in several sections).[3] Actually, as a new federal highway, US 67 ran together with the existing state highway (IL 3) along the only paved north-south route in western Illinois until 1934 when Illinois 3 was eliminated as a highway number north of Alton.

In recent years, local chambers of commerce as well as city and state politicians in western Illinois have been lobbying for making the US 67 corridor the southern extension of the "Avenue of the Saints" (Saint Paul to Saint Louis). Whatever the outcome of competition with Iowa to gain a modern Interstate highway, US 67 has been given a high priority for improvement by the Illinois Department of Transportation. Over the years, the actual course of the highway has been altered from the original Illinois 3 that connected county seats in each of ten counties through which it passed. As early as 1934, the northern section of US 67 was moved to a more direct course between Monmouth and Rock Island and thereby was rerouted ten miles east of Aledo, the county seat of Mercer County (see Fig. 1). In 1954, a more direct route was established between Jacksonville and Alton, thus leaving two county seats— Carrollton and Jerseyville—ten miles west on the old road now renumbered Illinois 267. In the mid 1950s, a bypass was built around Rushville (Schuyler County seat) on a new road linked to a new bridge across the Illinois River at Beardstown. By 1968, US 67 was rerouted from Beardstown south along the river with Illinois 100, and thence east to Jackson-

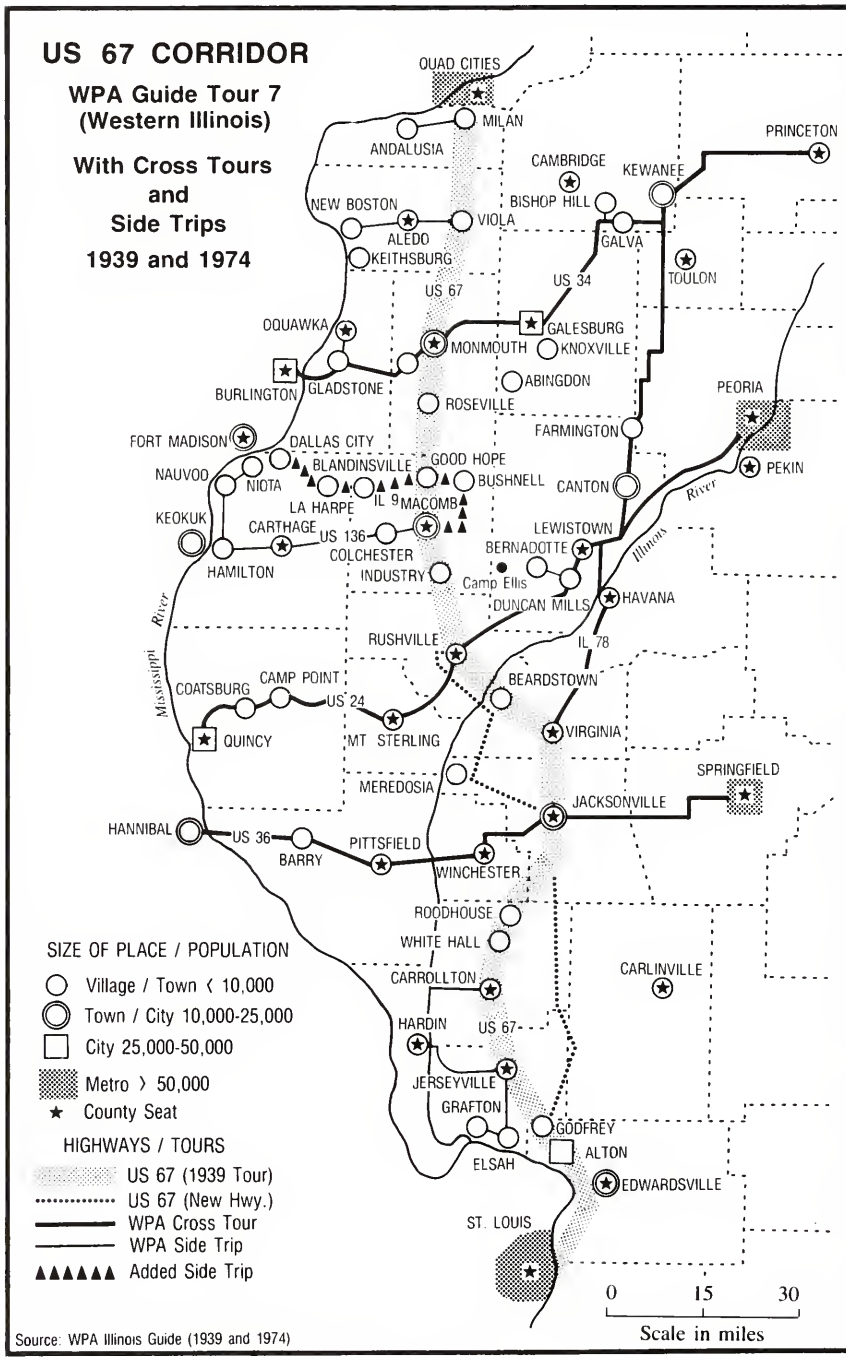
US 67 CORRIDOR
WPA Guide Tour 7
(Western Illinois)
With Cross Tours
and
Side Trips
1939 and 1974
QUAD CITIES
MILAN
ANDALUSIA
PRINCETON
CAMBRIDGE
KEWANEE
BISHOP HILL
NEW BOSTON
VIOLA
ALEDO
KEITHSBURG
GALVA
TOULON
US 34
US 67
OQUAWKA
GALESBURG
MONMOUTH
KNOXVILLE
ABINGDON
BURLINGTON
GLADSTONE
ROSEVILLE
PEORIA
FARMINGTON
FORT MADISON
DALLAS CITY
GOOD HOPE
PEKIN
NAUVOO
BLANDINSVILLE
BUSHNELL
NIOTA
CANTON
IL 9
MACOMB
LA HARPE
KEOKUK
CARTHAGE
US 136
LEWISTOWN
COLCHESTER
BERNADOTTE
HAMILTON
INDUSTRY
Camp Ellis
DUNCAN MILLS
HAVANA
RUSHVILLE
IL 78
COATSBURG
CAMP POINT
BEARDSTOWN
US 24
QUINCY
MT STERLING
VIRGINIA
SPRINGFIELD
MEREDOSIA
JACKSONVILLE
HANNIBAL
US 36
BARRY
PITTSFIELD
WINCHESTER
ROODHOUSE
WHITE HALL
CARLINVILLE
CARROLLTON
HARDIN
US 67
JERSEYVILLE
GRAFTON
GODFREY
ALTON
ELSAH
EDWARDSVILLE
ST. LOUIS
Mississippi River
Illinois River
SIZE OF PLACE / POPULATION
Village / Town < 10,000
Town / City 10,000-25,000
City 25,000-50,000
Metro > 50,000
County Seat
HIGHWAYS / TOURS
US 67 (1939 Tour)
US 67 (New Hwy.)
WPA Cross Tour
WPA Side Trip
Added Side Trip
0 15 30
Scale in miles
Source: WPA Illinois Guide (1939 and 1974)

Fig. 1

ville, thus replacing its old course east from Beardstown to Virginia (Cass County seat) and thence south to Jacksonville. (See Fig. 1).

The federal and state highway numbering system was well known by the late 1930s when the remarkable collection of WPA guides began to appear. The state volumes in the WPA's American Guide Series have become classics among descriptive and historical works. In effect, these state guides have never been truly superseded, even though revisions and rewritings have been attempted in various states.

The trials and tribulations of producing the monumental WPA guides have been recounted in *The Dream and the Deal* (1972)[4] by a project participant and in *The Federal Writers' Project* (1977)[5] by a historian born in 1943 just before the federal project died. Under the general editorship of Henry G. Alsberg in the Washington (DC) project office, each guide was prepared in similar format: Part I, a topical approach to the setting, history, economy, society, and the arts; Part II, featuring selected larger cities and other famous towns; Part III, "Tours" based upon auto trips along selected highways to describe most of the settlements and other features along the way. Actually, Part II supplements the tours by providing expanded descriptions of the large or special cities that may be part of one or more highway tours. These two parts composing the "place" focus of the guides usually accounted for 70 to 80 percent of each state volume.

Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide was published in the Fall of 1939, neither the first nor the last of the state guides to be completed. The volume was reprinted with scattered revisions and corrections in 1947.[6] In 1974, a major revision was undertaken under the editorship of Harry Hansen, a long time journalist, editor, and writer.[7] And in 1983, the well-regarded original was reprinted in paperback with an excellent introductory essay by a historian and a geographer.[8] Unfortunately many libraries seem either to have been unaware of the value of the revisions and the reprints or to have simply missed them. In fact, many public and college libraries have only a sporadic collection of any edition of WPA state guides.

Other travel guides in the auto age do not measure up to the literary quality of the WPA guides. Auto club guides are so dominated by their commercial advertisements that they do not allow for potentially interesting descriptive essays and notes. Such guides began as detailed mileage directories, supplementing general maps during the first quarter of the century when road numbering systems were either nonexistent or in their infancy.[9] The AAA (American Automobile Association) guides along with Mobil and Shell guides have continued this practice of issuing regional tour guides but without detailed tour directions and with a limited selection of place descriptions.

Tour guides typically cater to points of interest much like those listed on and keyed to the official highway map of Illinois such as state and federal recreational areas, historic sites, colleges and universities, state institutions, state memorials, and other special features. Also identified by point symbols in the map legend are county seats, covered bridges, airports, highway rest areas, and two special highway trails—Great River Road and Lincoln Heritage Trail. The guide books go beyond the map information to give colorful historic and

Table 1. Tour 7 (US ROUTE 67) IN WESTERN ILLINOIS
In WPA Illinois Guide, 1939 and 1974)

Mileage on Tour	Place and Other Trips (* = County Seat)	Guidebook Narratives (Words or Pages)		
		1939	1974	1968(1)
0.0	Iowa state line			
0.5	*Rock Island (Quad Cities)	7 pp.	11 pp.	4 pp.
5.7	Milan	115	120	410
	Side Trip: Andalusia	230	305	----
23.3	Viola	30	30	----
	Side Trip: *Aledo	180	140	140
	New Boston	----	55	95
	Keithsburg	----	----	155
47.0	*Monmouth	365	360	265
	Junction, Tour 13 (US Route 34)			
60.0	Roseville	75	75	150
71.6	Good Hope	150	125	----
79.5	*Macomb	675	645	250
	Side Trip: Colchester	----	----	260
	*Carthage	560	625	300
	Hamilton	360	390	480
	Nauvoo	9 pp.	7 pp.	700
	Niota	35	25	----
92.0	Industry	55	55	----
107.5	*Rushville	680	505	400
	Junction, Tour 16 (US Route 24)			
116.9	Frederick (US 67 in 1939 guide)	10	10	----
121.0	Beardstown(2)	565	745	270
135.0	*Virginia(2)	110	110	95
0.0	*Jacksonville(3)	960	1160	730
	Junction, Tour 18 (US Route 36)			
	Junction, Tour 5 (IL Route 78)			
19.0	Roodhouse	50	30	130
23.0	White Hall	90	100	150
33.0	*Carrollton	250	240	350
	Side Trip: Koster Archeological	----	230	----
46.0	*Jerseyville	95	45	180
	Side Trip: Hardin (19 miles)	340	260	290
	Side Trip: Elsah and Principia	450	405	300
	Grafton	210	195	365
	Pere Marquette Park	105	115	100
64.0	Godfrey	175	280	215
66.0	Alton	7 pp.	6 pp.	685

(1) *Illinois Guide & Gazetteer.*
(2) The 1939 tour guide followed former US Route 67 east from Beardstown to Virginia and then south to Jacksonville. The 1974 guide followed present US 67 south from Beardstown and then east to Jacksonville (see Fig. 1).
(3) The 1974 tour guide followed former US 67, now renumbered Illinois 267 beginning eight miles south of Jacksonville.
Sources: Illinois WPA Guide, 1939 and 1974; *Illinois Guide & Gazetteer*, 1968.

geographic descriptions. Those in the original WPA guides are especially literate.

Although professional geographers have produced since 1920 three geography textbooks designed to examine geographical and historical patterns in Illinois,[10] only one other guidebook similar to the WPA guide has been issued. *Illinois: Guide & Gazetteer*, published under the supervision of the Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission in 1968, was patterned loosely after the WPA guide. More than two-thirds of the 718-page volume is an alphabetical gazetteer of towns and cities, whereas less than twenty per cent is given to tours designed to follow rivers or to connect selected points of interest.[11]

The purpose of this paper is to examine the highway tours as they were organized for the WPA guides and to compare selected passages in three major state guides to Illinois. In particular, we will review the town and rural landscape descriptions in the US 67 corridor (Tour 7 in the 1939 guide and the 1974 revision) and compare these with town notes in the 1968 Gazetteer. Table 1 and Fig. 1 (map) identify the route with its side trips and cross tours within the western Illinois region. The original guide most fortuitously captures American (Illinois) life at the end of an era wherein traditional ways still prevail and where the highway still serves as a road connecting town and village centers. Attitudes and travel habits changed greatly by 1974 following almost three decades of rapid growth, culminating in a road system now dominated by limited access Interstate highways that purposely avoid the little places.

US 67 does not yet bypass the majority of towns, although slowly the attempt has been made to take monster trucks around towns, e. g., Beardstown, Rushville, Monmouth. As noted above, the new US 67 taking a beeline from Jacksonville to Alton not only avoids several towns on the old route but also bypasses smaller villages on the new route. Among eight county seats in the US 67 corridor, Macomb apparently will be the only one not bypassed by either the old or the future US 67.

Although the specific location of US 67 is important to the development of towns along its north-south course, the east-west highways that intersect—especially in county seats—tie the history and economy of greater western Illinois to the corridor. Six of the seven US highways (numbers 6, 34, 24, 36, 66, and 40) are western sections of WPA guide tours across Illinois (see Table 2 below).

TABLE 2. WPA TOURS INTERSECTING WITH US 67

Highway	Tour	Intersection with US 67
US 6	14	Terminates in Rock Island
US 34	13	Crosses US 67 at Monmouth
US 24	16	Crosses US 67 at Rushville
US 36	18	Crosses US 67 at Jacksonville
US 66	17	Terminates in St. Louis metro area
US 40	19	Terminates in St. Louis metro area
IL 78	5	Terminates in Virginia/Jacksonville

Also, US 136 intersecting US 67 in Macomb logically might have been included except that the federal number was not extended across the state until 1951;[12] thus, the writers in the 1939 guide simply included a "side trip" west from

Macomb on Illinois 10 and 96. Several state roads connect US 67 with other neighboring county seats as well as with special historic and scenic points of interest (see Fig. 1).

Table 1 identifies the villages, towns, and cities along the US 67 route in 1939 and, with modifications, in 1974. The approximate number of words used to describe each such place is compared between the two editions of the WPA guide and with the 1968 Gazetteer. Apparently some omitted places offered insufficient excitement to merit inclusion in a tour guide that was, like all guides, restricted in size.

Table 3 incorporates the key points on relevant intersecting tours (see Table 2), notably tours 13, 16, and 18 as well as Tour 5. The latter parallels US 67 in its north-south course until it terminates in the area of Virginia and Jacksonville on Tour 7. Tours 14, 17, and 19 (Table 2) are not considered in this study because they extend out from the north and south terminal points in the Quad Cities and Saint Louis metro areas of Tour 7 (US 67).

For most of the twentieth century, we have lived in the age of the motor car. Although we have become even more dependent upon the automobile as the century comes to a close, we can follow highway bypasses of countless villages, or even for the important county seat or college town. Of course, some of us may be thankful for the bypass of congested metropolitan areas. In any case, we can so often move from point A to point B without concern for the "annoying" settlements that might slow us down.

The WPA guide takes us through the towns and suggests what we might see during our "slow down". Thus, these classic guides still do for the state what various writers have accomplished with selective narratives about "Blue Highways" or "Ghost Towns" in our bypassed culture. First, the highways forced the railroads to give up countless local passenger and freight stops; then the same highways that opened the villages and towns were paved, widened, and rerouted so as to force the isolation of countless little places. In the pages that follow, the US 67 corridor is used to show that the half century-old highway tours still provide one of the best tour aids, especially for rural and small-town America.

With the 1939, 1968, and 1974 state guides in hand or on the car seat, the traveller starts Tour 7 in Rock Island at the Mississippi River. For one who wants to know about the Quad Cities metro area, the 1939 guide offers seven pages on "Rock Island and Moline"; but it could be supplemented by sixteen pages on Davenport in the Iowa guide. The 1974 revision expands the description to eleven pages about "Rock Island, Moline, East Moline with Davenport, Iowa, the Quad Cities." The 1968 Gazetteer presents "Quad Cities" in four pages. The 1974 guide clearly gives the most comprehensive coverage; but in ever-changing metro areas with Interstates encircling, the traveller today would do well to supplement with chamber of commerce materials or other local guides.

For the small-town focus of Tour 7, the passage of fifty-two years since the publication of the original guide has not obliterated many of the classic patterns described by the writers. The motorist following US 67 for some 220 miles from Rock Island to Alton will encounter no village, town, or small city with more than 25,000 population. Within a corridor thirty miles on either side of US 67,

Table 3. WPA GUIDE TOURS INTERSECTING US 67 (TOUR 7) IN WESTERN ILLINOIS

Mileage on Tour	Place and Other Trips (* = County Seat)
TOUR 13 (US 34). Section b. Princeton to Iowa Line.	
0.0	*Princeton
30.5	Kewanee
	Junction, Tour 5
43.0	Galva
47.0	Side Trip: Bishop Hill
70.0	*Galesburg
87.0	*Monmouth
	Junction, Tour 7
106.0	Side Trip: Gladstone & *Oquawka
114.5	Gulfport
115.0	Iowa state line
	*Burlington, Iowa
TOUR 16 (US 24). Section b. Peoria to Missouri Line.	
0.0	*Peoria
5.3	Bartonville
8.7	Orchard Mines
	Side Trip: *Pekin
32.3	Junction, Tour 5
37.3	Side Trip: Dickson Mounds
39.3	*Lewistown
43.9	Duncan Mills
	Side Trip: Bernadotte
57.6	Astoria
72.8	*Rushville
	Junction, Tour 7
81.8	Ripley
90.6	*Mount Sterling
109.8	Camp Point
115.0	Coatsburg
132.8	*Quincy
133.8	Missouri state line
TOUR 18 (US 36). Indiana Line to Missouri Line.	
0.0	Indiana state line
118.0	*Springfield
	Junction, US 66
133.0	Bates
154.0	*Jacksonville
	Junction, Tour 7
	Junction, Tour 5
171.7	*Winchester
191.0	*Pittsfield
206.0	Barry
212.0	Kinderhook
225.0	Missouri state line
	Hannibal, Missouri
TOUR 5 (IL 78). Section b. Kewanee to Virginia & US 67.	
0.0	Kewanee
	Junction, Tour 13
33.8	Elmwood
41.3	Farmington
51.7	Canton
62.2	Junction, Tour 16
73.1	*Havana
81.7	Bath
91.1	Chandlerville
100.0	*Virginia
	Junction, Tour 7
116.0	*Jacksonville
	Junction, Tour 7

Sources: WPA Illinois guides, 1939 and 1974 revised.

only Galesburg (ca. 37,000) is a larger place (see Fig. 1). Between thirty and sixty miles west of the highway, two Mississippi River towns are larger but by no means are they metro centers: Burlington area (ca. 35,000) and Quincy area (ca. 44,000). Other well-known river towns such as Muscatine, Fort Madison, Keokuk, and Hannibal have populations ranging between 12,000 and 20,000, similar to the largest county-seat towns on US 67. Larger metro centers do lie within thirty to sixty miles east, i.e., Peoria and surroundings (ca. 250,000) and Springfield (ca. 150,000).

The 1939 guide introduces the US 67 traverse:

> South of the Mississippi and the industrial Quad Cities, U. S. 67 crosses a prosperous agricultural region, passes through the college town of Macomb, and winds southeastward across rolling country to the Illinois River at Beardstown. Southward, the tour touches Jacksonville, another college center, and enters the Mississippi lowlands in the steel, brass, and chemical districts of Alton and East St. Louis.[13]

The 1974 edition leaves out the references to college towns but points out that US 67 has a new course (as noted above) both north and south of Jacksonville.The northern half of Tour 7, west of the Illinois River, is introduced in the original guide:

> This section of western Illinois is a fertile upland, crossed at regular intervals by forested valleys, which drain east or west into the great rivers that bound the region. In the small towns and old cities there is a subtle charm of architecture and grace of living, suggestive of New England, from which, indeed, western Illinois derives much of its cultural heritage.[14]

The writers of the 1974 revision chose to modify the second sentence above to emphasize architecture: "In the small towns and old cities remain many relics of post-Civil War housing— plain brick houses close to the street, and gabled frame cottages exemplifying the carpenter's ingenuity."[15]

The first stop outside Rock Island is Milan on the Rock River at 5.7 miles. After suggesting a brief diversion from Milan to Andalusia, both editions of the tour guide continue:

> South of Milan the highway climbs the Mississippi Bluffs to the upland level, a pleasantly varied region of broken prairie and woodland and deeply incised valleys. Numerous birds, among them the colorful cardinal and bluejay, hawks, owls, and an occasional eagle, inhabit this area. On the prairies are fine farms, with large corn cribs and silos, that specialize in hogs and dairy cattle. Sheep are pastured on the rougher lands.[16]

From Viola, at the 23.3 mile mark, the tour writers take a second side trip westward to Aledo, a small county seat town that was on the original US 67 route in the early 1930s. One paragraph descriptions in each of the three state guides give slightly different facts about Aledo, but both the 1968 and the 1974 guides fail to mention the Roosevelt Military Academy, the last of a series of attempts to develop a college campus "on the northwestern edge of the city."[17]

New Boston, an early Mississippi River town surveyed by Abraham Lincoln, is included by the 1974 Guide in a seven mile extension westward from Aledo; and, in a Great River tour, the 1968 Gazetteer describes New Boston and Keithsburg, twelve miles downstream.[18] Both editions of the WPA guide remind the reader of the early settlers who, from places like New Boston and Keithsburg, moved up the "numerous tributaries of the Mississippi that have carved their wooded valleys deep in the fertile upland," where US 67 passes (Fig. 1).

At the 47 mile mark along US 67, Monmouth (population 8,666 in 1930, 11,022

in 1970, and ca. 9,500 in 1990) is described in five paragraphs, including the following statement from the 1939 guide that is only slightly revised in the 1974 edition:

> Setting the cultural pace of the community is MONMOUTH COLLEGE, on E. Broadway between 7th and 9th Sts., a coeducational institution opened in 1856 under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Church. The 15 red brick college buildings on the tree-shaded 30-acre campus lend a pleasant quiet beauty that helps offset the drabness of the business streets and square.[19]

According to the guide authors, early Monmouth had a handicap --bads roads-- common to pioneer prairie towns: "wagon roads at best; at worst, an endless succession of mud holes." Monmouth streets "were impassable for many weeks each year. Such signs as 'No Bottom Here' warned travelers to keep off the beaten path."[20] The writers failed to recognize the many lovely houses that were constructed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially along East Broadway from the city center out past the "college hill". The Victorian and Prairie style houses reflect the prosperity of surrounding farm country in the nineteenth century.

Aside from its being a court house town and a college town, Monmouth has been an important agricultural trade center as well as a small manufacturing center including the Western Stoneware Company not mentioned in the WPA guides. Monmouth, like its larger neighbor, Galesburg, some sixteen miles east, has encountered difficulty in maintaining manufacturing jobs in recent years.

For the US 67 traveller, the junction with US 34 affords a good opportunity to take a side trip (Tour 13 in WPA guides) both east and west from Monmouth (see tables 2 and 3). Clearly, the most important visit would be to Galesburg, famous as a college town, a major railroad junction, the boyhood home of Carl Sandburg, and the most important trade center in the prairie upland of western Illinois. Surprisingly, Galesburg was not selected to be featured in the 1939 guide's Part II on some twenty cities. In fact, the original guide allowed only a little more than two pages to this city founded with Knox College as an intellectual center. The authors of the 1974 revision did not add Galesburg to the section on cities. but they did elevate it to a place of considerable importance by devoting six-and-a-half pages that include a significant piece on Carl Sandburg as a native son.[21] Furthermore, the revised guide added a description of neighboring Knoxville, the quaint little town that lost the court house to Galesburg in 1872.

The WPA guides failed to pick up Abingdon just eleven miles south of Galesburg, even though it once was a college town; in fact, it was a town with two colleges for about thirty years after being founded in the 1850s.[22] In its first alphabetical entry, the 1968 Guide & Gazetteer includes one short paragraph about Abingdon but fails to mention either Hedding College or Abingdon College, apparently because both had closed by 1930.[23] The brief description does recall that a better mousetrap was designed and patented in Abingdon and that the town was (in the early 1900s) a leading wagon manufacturing site.

Returning to US 34 at Galesburg and backtracking in the tour guide books, the reader will find two or three pages relating to Henry County colony settlements associated with Wethersfield (part of Kewanee), Galva, and especially Bishop Hill whose points of interest are outlined on more than one page. These places

are more than forty miles by highway from the US 67 and 34 junction at Monmouth (Fig. 1).

Travelling west from Monmouth on US 34, Kirkwood—long ago known as Young America—and Biggsville are skipped in all of the guides; but a side trip north from US 34 on Illinois 164 takes the reader through Gladstone (briefly described) and out to Lock and Dam 18 on the Mississippi River. Six miles north of US 34 at the end of the side trip is the little Henderson County seat of Oquawka (ca. 1,500 pop. today), settled as an early trading post on the river. The return to US 34 allows the traveller to go about eight miles farther west to the toll bridge crossing to Burlington (see Iowa WPA guide).

Rural landscape descriptions in the original WPA guide remain essentially the same not only in 1974 but also in 1991, e.g.:

> South of Monmouth the country is flat and largely cropped. This is a region of beef cattle finishing. The white-faced Herefords shipped in from the western range and the Aberdeen-Angus raised locally are fattened on corn for the Chicago stockyards. Attractive houses and corn cribs are conspicuous features of most farmsteads.[24]

The 1974 guide does drop the phrase "for the Chicago stockyards" in recognition of the permanent closing of the Union Stock Yards livestock market on July 30, 1972.

Comments in the 1974 guide about Roseville as a rural trading center and shipping point are retained from the original edition. The 1968 Gazetteer listed the village, using much the same information as in the 1939 guide. Roseville was originally known as Hat Grove, allegedly because a nearby clump of trees resembled a man's hat.

The WPA writers attempted to explain the name of the next village, Good Hope, so they gave it nearly twice as much space as to Roseville, its larger and more prosperous neighbor twelve miles north; but Good Hope was not included in the 1968 Gazetteer. From local history sources, the WPA guide writers note that Good Hope apparently had three or four names as a rail shipping point in 1866 and 1867.

Today, US 67 south from Good Hope to Macomb is a four-lane highway completed in 1990 across the LaMoine Valley on the north edge of Macomb. Although the 1939 guide describes the terrain north of Macomb, the writers err in detail, especially in failing to mention the LaMoine River: "Just before reaching Macomb US 67, which is relatively level south of Monmouth, suddenly toboggans over several hills and ravines."[25] This statement may be accurate if it intends to include the river valley and the ravine immediately south of the cemetery hill in Macomb.

By the 1970s, Macomb as county seat and college town was the largest place on the northern part of US 67, having surpassed Monmouth in the 1950 census. Macomb's soaring population between 1960 and 1970 is primarily a measure of the rapid growth of Western Illinois University. Reflecting the change from a town with a little state college on its northwest edge to a small city with a university nearly dominating its way of life, descriptions in the 1974 guide were reorganized and largely rewritten.

The introductory paragraph in 1974 appears like chamber of commerce boosterism relating to Macomb's location:

> MACOMB, . . . (19,643 pop. 1970; 12,135 pop. 1960; increase 61.6%) seat of McDonough County, in the heart of the western prairie, is 150 m. north of St. Louis and 230 m. southwest of Chicago. It is served by US 136, connecting with Inter. 55; US 67, connecting with Int. 80, and is on the Burlington Route main line. It has 692 acres of park and recreation land and Argyle State Park a few miles west near US 136. Macomb's principal products are roller bearings, pottery and thermos ware.[26]

The original five paragraph account of Macomb (pop. 8,509 in 1930) devotes the first paragraph to its historic beginnings, the second to the distinctive two public squares as well as development of trade and manufacturing, and the third to a description of the present courthouse and its predecessors. The fourth and fifth paragraphs relate to the college starting with an concise portrait of the campus:

> WESTERN ILLINOIS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, housed in seven buildings on a hilly, handsomely landscaped, 70 acre campus on W. Adams St. between Charles and Normal Aves., has an average enrollment of 900 to 1,000 students and an extension enrollment throughout western Illinois of 700 more. The college opened in September 1902 as Western Illinois State Normal School; 370 students were enrolled in the Normal and 180 in the Training divisions. Its first building, of Berean stone and brick, is still in use; most of the newer structures are of brick; the School of Arts is an adaptation of Egyptian architecture. . . .[27]

The revised paragraphs about Western Illinois University reflect on the evolution not only of a large campus but also of four name changes since the earlier twentieth century:

> . . . It now has nearly 40 buildings on its campus of more than 750 acres, a farm of 90 acres, and a Life Sciences Station on the Mississippi, 40 m. away. . . . Its architecture is eclectic, but recent construction has been of modern high-rise design.[28]

The revised WPA guide continues with brief notes on the size of faculty and student body, the governance, and the programs and activities at this the largest university in western Illinois. A few facts are added about Macomb's new high school, the public library, and a horseshoeing school. The 1968 Gazetteer records nothing new to the more interesting coverage in the two WPA editions, except that it introduces Macomb as "this industrial city [lying] among gentle hills bordering the LaMoine River".

In the more than seventeen years since revision of the WPA guide, significant changes have occurred in urban and metro areas, even in the predominantly rural landscapes of western Illinois. Macomb has been affected measurably by a rapidly growing university; and interest in local history and historic preservation has introduced more historic sites and new resources for future guide writers.[29]

As noted earlier, the east-west highway (Illinois 10) through Macomb was not part of a cross-state tour. But the decision by the federal guide writers to create a side trip from Macomb to Carthage, Hamilton, and Nauvoo was an easy one because of the notable tourist attractions, not only of Mormon history in Nauvoo and at the Carthage jail but also at the great dam and lock with hydroelectric power plant between Hamilton and Keokuk. The writers may have missed an opportunity by not creating a circle tour rather than a one way description. Instead of stopping at Niota "9 miles east and north of Nauvoo," they could have connected with State Highway 9 to go east through Dallas City, LaHarpe, Blandinsville, Good Hope, and Bushnell before returning to Macomb from the east (see Table 1 and Fig. 1). Dallas City, LaHarpe, and Bushnell were each considered interesting enough to be included in the 1968 Gazetteer.

The 1974 guide simply calls the two-page diversion on US 136 (old IL 10)

the "Side Trip to Carthage" with a reference to the Iowa guide for Keokuk and to Part II for Nauvoo as a special city. The trip in the original guide does add a third county seat, Carthage, to Aledo and Oquawka noted above on tour diversions to Mississippi River counties west of US 67 corridor. The 1974 guide expands the discussion of Carthage as a college town with a history of Carthage College, the college move in 1964 to Kenosha (WI), and its replacement by Robert Morris Junior College (which moved to Springfield in 1988).[30] The WPA guide, with its tendency to feature anecdotal history, could have enlivened further this side trip with an account of Warsaw whose nineteenth century heritage is thoughtfully recovered in the 1968 Gazetteer. Emphasizing its exciting and ambitious days at a strategic site on the Mississippi River, the writers conclude with an appropriate quotation (1870) from John Hay, secretary to Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of State under presidents McKinley and Roosevelt:

> Towns are sometimes absurdly named. I lived in Spunky Point on the Mississippi River. This is a graphic, characteristic designation. . . . But some idiots, just before I was born, who had read Mrs. Porter's novel, THADDEUS OF WARSAW, a romance, thought that "Warsaw" would be more genteel, and so we are Nicodemused into nothing for the rest of time. I hope every man who engaged in this outrage is called "Smith" in Heaven.'[31]

The first stop on US 67 south of Macomb is Industry, whose typical village status is revealed in its nongrowth (568 pop. in 1930 and 558 in 1970). The 1974 revision retains the same two sentences given in 1939 to identify the village founding and explain the origin of the name. The 1974 guide erred in changing the mileage mark at Industry from 92 to 88 miles from the tour start. The editors compounded that error with a 207 mile mark at the Rushville junction of US 67 bypass and US 24, which is actually fifteen miles south of Industry rather than nineteen miles as implied by the original error.

In their apparent haste to introduce the newly opened King-Weinberg State Park some fifteen miles west of US 67, the 1974 editors stated simply that the park was west of the new junction of US 67 and US 24. In truth, the traveller should turn west to the park on State Highway 101 about halfway between Industry and Rushville. Omitted in these imprecise directions is the original (1939) geographical link between the above named places: "South of Industry the highway rolls over fertile uplands or dips and winds through forested valleys as the route crosses the tributaries of the Illinois River."[32] (See Fig. 1.)

The guide entry for Rushville, the little Schuyler County seat, is as lengthy as that for its northern neighbor, Macomb. More than half is devoted to historical incidents, two involving Abraham Lincoln and another telling about Governor Ford and his troops returning from quelling an uprising against the Mormons in Hancock County. The 1974 edition continues these stories as well as giving notes about the courthouse and Scripps Park.[33] The 1968 Gazetteer contains essentially a rewriting of the original WPA guide's account of Rushville.

According to the WPA guide, Rushville is at the 72.8 mile marker from Peoria, the starting point for Tour 16b or US 24 in western Illinois (see Table 3). The traveller can back track that route to Astoria, Duncan Mills, Lewistown, Dickson Mounds (near Lewistown), and the junction with north-south Tour 5 on State Highway 78 (32.3 miles from Peoria).

Lewistown, a boyhood home of Edgar Lee Masters and, in part, a scene for

his *Spoon River Anthology*, receives extensive coverage by the literary writers of the WPA guide. The 1974 revision does omit some incidents and then adds an explanation of the "Spoon River Scenic Drive," laid out and marked in 1968 as a 65 mile tour supported by local and state groups for its tourist appeal. The 1974 guide also stresses historic preservation in the Lewistown area, thus representing a growing trend during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

In outlining a side trip from Duncan Mills to Bernadotte on the Spoon River and just north of US 136, the revised guide failed to show the change of the highway number from State Route 10 as it was until 1951. The 1939 guide has more to say about the little village, linking it to the saga of Masters. But neither guide was written at the proper time to consider the existence of Camp Ellis, a World War II Army post whose northern edge actually absorbed Bernadotte. The camp, housing as many as 40,000 persons at one time including some 2,500 German prisoners of war, was about twenty miles from US 67 and Macomb, where soldiers often spent free time. Camp Ellis was laid out and built between September 1942 and April 1943 on 17,750 acres of rolling cropland and hilly woodland between the Fulton County villages of Ipava, Table Grove, and Bernadotte. This largest "city" on the western Illinois prairie had a short life, for its dismantling as an Army Service Forces training center began in September 1944. Reduced and effectively deactivated by war's end, the camp stood idle for a number of years. The land returned to private holdings in the 1950s. The uplands were again cropped, some portions were stripped for coal in the 1970s, and a few brick and concrete relict features remain as monuments amidst the farm and woodlands today.

The above brief account of a piece of local history is the kind of thing that tour guides often feature. Obviously, the original WPA guide could not have used this incident, and the 1974 guide was composed too long after the event. Perhaps if US 136 had been part of a cross state tour in 1939, then the revised guide might have picked up the story in a visit to nearby Ipava, Table Grove, and Vermont as well as Bernadotte.

Returning to the Rushville tour junction, the guide user will find that Tour 16b (US 24) connects with the old river city of Quincy almost sixty miles to the west. Despite its being the second largest Illinois city in the Civil War era—slightly larger (24,052) in 1870 than Peoria (22,849)—and having a distinctive architectural heritage, Quincy was not among the special cities featured in Part II of the 1939 guide. It did rate almost four pages at the end of Tour 16b where US 24 crossed the river to Missouri. The 1974 revision editors did accord Quincy a place among the select cities, modifying and enlarging the original account to almost seven pages.[34] Strangely, the original edition failed to recognize Quincy College, founded as Saint Francis Solanus College in 1873 and renamed Quincy College and Seminary in 1917.[35] Several paragraphs in the revised edition pick up the story of the college in addition to brief comments on other experiences in higher education. The 1968 Gazetteer summarizes Quincy in a three-page essay with a photo of the house of John Wood, a pioneer settler and a later power in state politics and noted governor.

US 24 to Quincy passes through several villages including Mount Sterling, the

Brown County seat some eighteen miles west of Rushville, and Camp Point about halfway between Mount Sterling and Quincy (see Fig. 1). Only a few sentences are given to each of the abovementioned, along with a quick reference to only two of six hamlets along the highway.

Leaving Rushville on old US 67, the 1939 guide portrays the landscape leading into the Illinois River valley:

> South [and east] of Rushville are several abandoned coal mines, visible from the highway. The size of the shafts and slag heaps indicates the small scale of mining operations common in the vicinity, which supply local markets with a cheap, low-grade bituminous coal. Only the better deposits in Illinois are worked by large scale methods. The highway, in its descent to the Illinois River, follows closely the route of the old turnpike road laid out in 1843. From the crest of the bluffs...is an excellent view of the Illinois Valley. The historic old river swings lazily through its gorge, now cutting close to the high bluffs that confine it, again following a middle course through the heavy woods of the bottom lands. Numerous lakes and sloughs, formed at flood stage, dot the valley floor. Between the hamlet of FREDERICK . . . and the toll bridge . . . the highway parallels the river across the floodplain. From the bridge the sea wall and natural levee that protect Beardstown are clearly visible.[36]

In the 1974 edition, this geographical portrait is lost in a much briefer note that "US 67 has been routed south of Rushville to Beardstown and thus bypasses the old road . . . " The revisors also missed an opportunity to point out the long descent of the new highway and a roadside plaque commemorating the official starting point used for carrying out the original land survey of the Military Tract between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. And no special mention is made of the grand new (1954) free bridge crossing the Illinois River.

"Beardstown . . . lies on the floor of the Illinois Valley. At its front door is the river, at its back door the slough. Bordering it on three sides are the sand soils of the terrace."[37] The 1974 guide dropped most of the above but added that Beardstown is "near the foot of Muscooten Lake and south of one of the finest fishing and wild fowl hunting grounds in the State".[38] First settled in 1819 by Thomas Beard and platted in 1829, old "Beard's Ferry" has "outgrown its modest position as a small ferry crossing and river port dependent mainly upon commercial fishing and clams [to become] important today as a farming and rail center".[39]

Beardstown has experienced many historic happenings not the least of which is reflected in "the historic City Hall, built in 1844 as the Courthouse of Cass County and used thus until 1872, when the seat was moved to Virginia".[40] Scene of Abraham Lincoln's famous defense (1858) of Duff Armstrong, this ex-courthouse "is a severe, two story, red brick structure, distinguished by a single classical cornice, a gable pediment, and striking but somewhat modified classic lintels above the windows".[41] Thus, the WPA guide provides tour information on two of its favorite themes: 1) stories about Abraham Lincoln and 2) details on the architecture of public buildings and classic dwellings.

As noted earlier, US 67 from Beardstown southward has experienced major relocation, in the process bypassing three of the next four county seats on the original route (see Fig. 1). Because US 67 followed its new course along the river south of Beardstown instead of eastward to Virginia, the 1974 guide shifts the brief description of Virginia to Tour 5 along State Highway 78 where it did intersect with US 67 on the way south to Jacksonville. The little village (1,494

pop. in 1930 and 1,814 in 1970) marked the terminus of Tour 5 that originates on the Wisconsin line and parallels Tour 7 north and west of the Illinois River. Tour 5 passes through Kewanee and Canton, the two largest non courthouse towns in western Illinois, and Havana, the Mason County seat up river from Beardstown. However, only at its southern terminus does Tour 5 have any significant tie to the US 67 corridor. In fact, one can assume that it really coincides with Tour 7 from Jacksonville southward to Alton.

Jacksonville always has been the largest and most active settlement in the prairie uplands of the US 67 corridor. With its suburb of South Jacksonville, the city had a population of 18,309 in 1930 and 23,553 in 1970. Jacksonville is described in the 1939 guide as an "early contender for the State Capital and State University, [a] home of statesmen and site of schools and colleges. . . ."[42] Considering its uniqueness as a town with many special institutions, it is again surprising that the federal writers' guide did not give five or six pages to it in Part II on individual towns and cities. Jacksonville and its institutions are the subjects of a number of articles, reports, and books.[43]

The original WPA guide contains a two page historical review of this famous college town, and the 1974 edition presents a rewritten and updated essay. The 1968 Gazetteer covers basically the same material but in less than one-and-a-half pages.

Illinois College is recognized as the first (1829) of the early Illinois institutions to offer college-level courses and to graduate a group of students. Established largely through the efforts of seven young Yale graduates with strong Congregational and Presbyterian backgrounds, the campus was located on "College Hill" almost a mile from the courthouse. By 1903, Illinois College had become coeducational by officially uniting with Jacksonville Female Academy (founded 1835). When the 1939 guide was written, the college had "an enrollment of 385 [occupying] 16 red brick buildings on a 50-acre campus". The 1974 guide claimed an enrollment of 800 on a 63-acre campus.[44]

Almost from its beginnings, Jacksonville has been the center of education for women, not only in the academy noted above but also in several other institutions. "MACMURRAY COLLEGE . . . was established in 1846 as a Methodist Episcopal school for women and was known as the Illinois Conference Female Academy. The present name was adopted in 1930 . . . " in honor of a major contributor to its well-being.[45] "In 1955 the trustees funded MacMurray College for Men as a coordinate institution. In . . . 1969, the college became coeducational."[46]

No doubt inspired by the religious, academic, and political atmosphere of nineteenth century Jacksonville, a number of famous men, including three governors, made their homes here. The 1974 guide expands to a paragraph the brief note in the 1939 guide on William Jennings Bryan as student (1879-1881) and later as lawyer (1883-1888), before his moving to Nebraska and national politics. The 1939 guide also notes: "In Duncan Park . . . , the stately Georgian house built in 1835 by Governor Duncan, such notables as Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, and Abraham Lincoln were entertained; it is now the chapter house of the Daughters of the American Revolution."[47] A rich and varied architectural heritage

is expressed in other houses along the streets of Jacksonville.

Not only does this illustrious county-seat college-town have two of the oldest continuing colleges in Illinois, but also it has an amazing number of other educational and hospital institutions. The 1939 and 1974 guides briefly mention these other campus-like institutions. "The ILLINOIS STATE SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF, opened in 1843 with four pupils," had nearly 600 students on a campus at the west end of College Avenue.[48] The State School for the Blind (now Illinois Braille and Sight-saving School) was founded in 1847 on the east side of town. The Illinois State Hospital for the Insane (now Jacksonville State Hospital) occupies a "beautiful tree-shaded, park-like grounds" on the south side of town. Gone is the state institution for Weak Minded Children, operating for years in the nineteenth century.

The 1939 guide fails to mention any highway junction at Jacksonville even though US 36 (Tour 18) as well as Illinois highways 78 and 104 intersected with US 67. The 1974 edition mentions the highway junctions but like the original gives no cross-reference to Tour 18. US 36 is today (1991) a limited access highway west from Springfield almost to the Illinois River, bypassing Jacksonville on the south. The new highway will bypass all towns and villages as it is completed across the Illinois and on to the Mississippi at Hannibal.

The Jacksonville area is described within Tour 7 and is referred to in the Tour 18 (US 36) itinerary. From Springfield to Jacksonville (36 miles), US 36 follows the railroad along which are situated some six hamlets, "each clumped at the base of grain elevators". Both guides describe this rural landscape east of Jacksonville:

> ...The fertile countryside is a checkerboard of corn and wheat fields. A comfortable standard of living is evidenced by large and well-maintained farmhouses. The barns, an infallible barometer of agrarian economy, are frequently topped with cupolas and decorated with lightning rods and weathervanes.[49]

West of Jacksonville, Tour 18 (old US 36) in the 1939 guide covers the 75 miles to Hannibal in less than two pages, emphasizing nineteenth century events in the two county seats— Winchester in Scott County and Pittsfield in Pike County (see Fig. 1). The 1974 guide updates population data but leaves the description of Winchester with only minor editorial change. While continuing the reminder that early Pittsfield "was a genuine transplantation of [the] New England culture" of its namesake Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the revisors add more to the Lincoln lore of this area and emphasize anew the architectural landmarks of the town.[50]

According to the 1974 guide: "In a realignment of highways, US 67 was routed in a straight line south from Jacksonville to Alton. The former route, which has a bulge westward, is now Illinois 267." Tour 7 in the revised guide still follows the old route whose path was explained in the original guide:

> South of Jacksonville to Jerseyville US 67 closely parallels the tracks of the Alton (R.R.)[51] as highway and railroad trace their course across farm lands, linking the cities and towns that serve this fertile region. Small crossroads communities are identified from afar by towering grain elevators.[52]

Both editions of the WPA guide give brief descriptions of Roodhouse, White Hall, Carrollton, and Jerseyville (see Fig. 1 and Table 1). For various reasons, much more is made of the outlying points of interest than of these towns

themselves. After dwelling at some length on the life and estate of Henry T. Rainey, one-time speaker of the House of Representatives, the 1974 guide adds a significant section on a side trip from Carrollton to the Koster Archeological Site opened near the Illinois River in the early 1970s.

Jerseyville, the largest town on this portion of Tour 7, is "snubbed" in the 1974 guide, as it eliminates a geographical description of small-town America in 1939 (and beyond):

> JERSEYVILLE . . . is Jersey County seat and the home of many retired farmers. The town ships, in addition to local produce, much of the apple crop of Calhoun County, which is trucked in from Hardin [described in a three paragraph side trip]. The business district presents a pleasant though fairly archaic appearance with its wooden awnings over the sidewalks. The main street is quite wide, with parking places in the center, but even these more ample facilities are taxed on Saturdays, when the farmers come into town for their weekly shopping.[53]

South of Jerseyville, where the land becomes more hilly toward the rivers, interesting side trips are offered in both editions of the WPA guide. Chief among the stops are Elsah and adjacent Principia College, a college sponsored by Christian Scientists and relocated in 1935 from Saint Louis to a bluff site overlooking the Mississippi River. Also described is Grafton, a historic port at the confluence of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Beyond the confluence is Pere Marquette State Park.

As US 67 and Illinois 267 move toward Alton and the Saint Louis metro area, the US 67 corridor enters a zone of transition from western Illinois to southern Illinois. Among the final small-town stops is Godfrey, described in 1939 as:

> a small hamlet, the site of Monticello College and Preparatory School for Girls, whose soft gray limestone buildings are set in a beautifully wooded tract of 300 acres. Founded in 1835, Monticello was one of the first institutions west of the Alleghenies to offer advanced education for women. The school was established by a retired Cape Cod sea captain, Benjamin Godfrey, who believed that women should be educated in the same manner as men. When he erected a stone building at a cost of $45,000 and opened his school, the enterprise was considered sheer madness by most of the settlers of the State. Today (1939) Monticello, with an average enrollment of 180, offers a four year preparatory course and two years of accredited junior college training.[54]

The 1974 guide notes that the little school also had ties with the Yale Seminary graduates (see Illinois College above) who were "dedicated to bringing culture to the prairie by building educational and religious institutions." When the school closed in 1971, "the gray stone buildings and wooded campus of 214 acres were bought by the board of trustees of the LEWIS AND CLARK COMMUNITY COLLEGE." By 1972, the new college "reported 2,170 students and a faculty of 139. Its historic chapel has been designated one of America's landmarks."[55]

The above descriptive account of a little college community represents a characteristic approach of the guides to capture interesting elements of historic sites. The WPA guides did an effective job in rendering a literary approach to understanding the physical and human landscape as well as the history of localities.

CONCLUSIONS

No tour guide is complete or truly comprehensive, giving equal treatment to all places. It is impossible to satisfy both the home folks and the itinerant traveller alike. But the state guides published more than fifty years ago in the American Guide Series are classics, offering a wealth of information that has been digested

and presented creatively within standardized guidelines. As in the case of Illinois, a number of original state guides have been revised; but the original volumes are still useful and highly readable as historical and geographical documents.

Rather than criticize writers and editors for the scattered errors and omissions that inevitably appear, we should use the guide as an excellent base for exploring further the areas of travel interest. The original tour descriptions of rural and small-town areas, like that encompassed within the US 67 corridor, seem almost to be timeless. The landscape and other historic changes in small cities and metro areas (Quad Cities and Saint Louis) of the US 67 corridor probably merit more updated information. The revision of the Illinois guide published in 1974 can be criticized for factual errors and stylistic lapses; yet it probably has utility beyond the original edition. The original guide was reprinted with minor corrections in 1947 and has been reprinted by at least three publishers within the last decade. The 1968 *Guide & Gazetteer* represents a legitimate attempt to create a replacement for the old WPA guide, but the alphabetical gazetteer does not offer the same adventuresome reading as do the more detailed highway tours in the WPA guides. And the three major volumes compared herein are immeasurably more enlightening and more comprehensive than the commercial guides— usually multistate volumes—distributed or sold by the AAA (American Automobile Association), Mobil, and Shell. WPA-type guides ought to be continued, especially in a state that is increasingly involved in promoting tourism and has made considerable progress in historic preservation.

NOTES

[1]The Route 66 Association of Illinois has issued a brochure-guide and sponsored the Route 66 Hall of Fame of Illinois at the Dixie Truckers Home in McLean (opened in June 1990). A recent congressional bill authorized the National Park Service to study Route 66 as a historic trail whose landscape features should be restored. See Lauren Young, "America's Main Street," *National parks, 65* (March/April 1991), 30-37. See also books: Michael Wallis, *Route 66: The Mother Road* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990) and Quinta Scott, *Route 66, The Highway and its People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

[2]Federal Writer's Project, *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1939).

[3]The Mississippi Valley Highway crossed into the uplands from the river near Burlington and followed what later became US 67 from Good Hope to Macomb and on south to Alton.

[4]Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writer's Project, 1935-1943* (Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1972).

[5]Monty Noam Penkower, *The Federal Writer's Project: A Study in Government Patronage of the Arts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

[6]Revision with minor changes in original edition identified in note #2 above.

[7]*Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide, New Revised Edition*, edited by Harry Hansen (New York: American Guide Series, Hastings House, 1974).

[8]*The WPA Guide to Illinois: The Federal Writer's Project Guide to 1930s Illinois* with a new "Introduction" by Neil Harris and Michael Conzen (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983). Among other attempts to reprint the series of *WPA* guidebooks, Omnigraphics, Inc. of Detroit is offering all volumes reprinted in 1990 and 1991.

[9]Examples of early auto tour guides: *The Automobile Green Book, Official Tour Book Volume No. 3, 1923: Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin. . .* (Indianapolis: Scarborough Motor Guide Co., 1923); *Official Automobile Blue Book 1923: Standard Touring Guide of America, Volume 3 (Middle Western)* (Chicago: Automobile Blue Books, Inc. 1923). Similar auto tour guides were published even before 1910.

[10]a) Douglas Ridgeley, *The Geography of Illinois* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921). Although this high school and college text does not include comprehensive tours, a section does contain brief descriptions of cities organized by regions.
b) Ronald E. Nelson, ed., *Illinois: Land and Life in the Prairie State* (Dubuque, IA: Published for the Illinois Geographical Society by Kendall/Hunt, 1978). This topical volume still provides an effective geographical view of the state of Illinois for high school and college students as well as all adults.
c) A. Doyne Horsley, *The Geography of Illinois* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985). This text offers a somewhat different topical approach with a short section of regional tours organized arbitrarily by the author.

[11]Illinois Sesquicentennial Commission, *Illinois Guide & Gazetteer* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1968). In 1930, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce produced the *Illinois Tourists Guide,* a small and rather unevenly prepared gazetteer organized around twenty-five groups of counties.

[12]US 136 extending from Indianapolis to Saint Joseph (MO) was in effect a northern alternative to US 36 that extends from eastern Ohio through Indianapolis and on to Saint Joseph and Denver, crossing US 67 at Jacksonville, Illinois.

[13]1939 Guide. pp. 472-473.

[14]1939 Guide, p. 473.

[15]1974 Guide, p. 527.

[16]1939 Guide, p. 474; 1974 Guide, p. 528.

[17]John V. Bergen, "College Towns and Campus Sites," *Western Illinois Regional Studies,* 13 (Fall 1990), 68-69.

[18]1974 Guide, p. 528; 1968 Gazetteer, p. 575.

[19]1939 Guide, p. 475. See also Bergen (1990), 64-65.

[20]1939 Guide, p. 475.

[21]1974 Guide, p. 524-630.

[22]Bergen (1990), 58-59.

[23]Abindgdon College united with Eureka College in 1885; Hedding College, a Methodist school was reduced to junior college status before being phased out entirely in the late 1920s.

[24]1939 Guide, p. 475.

[25]1939 Guide, p. 476.

[26]1974 Guide, p. 530.

[27]1939 Guide, p. 476.

[28]1974 Guide, p. 531.

[29]For example see John E. Hallwas, *Macomb: A Pictorial History* (St. Louis: G. Bradley Publishing, Inc., 1990). Among other features in Macomb, new museums in town and university have been developed and the courthouse has been restored.

[30]Bergen (1990), 67.

[31]1968 Gazetteer, p. 513.

[32]1939 Guide, p. 479.

[33]The park was "formerly the 80-acre farm of Edward Wyllis Scripps (1854-1926), founder of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. The park was given to the city in 1922 by Mr. Scripps and his sisters . . ." See 1939 Guide, p. 480 and 1974 Guide, p. 534.

[34]1974 Guide, pp. 384-390.

[35]In fact, no mention is made of earlier attempts in higher education. See Bergen (1990), 65-66.

[36]1939 Guide, p. 480.

[37]1939 Guide, p. 480.

[38]1974 Guide, p. 534.

[39]1939 Guide, p. 480.

[40]1974 Guide, pp. 534-535.

[41]1939 Guide, p. 481 and 1974 Guide, p. 535.

[42]1939 Guide, p. 482.

[43]See Bergen (1990), pp. 55-56 and 73-74.

[44]1939 Guide, pp. 482-483 and 1974 Guide, pp. 536-537.

[45]1939 Guide, p. 483.

[46]1974 Guide, p. 538.

[47]1939 Guide, p. 483 and with slightly revised sentence in the 1974 Guide, p. 537.

[48]1939 Guide, p. 483.

[49]1939 Guide, p. 601 and 1974 Guide, p. 689.

[50]1939 Guide, pp. 602-603 and 1974 Guide, pp. 690-691.

[51]The Alton R. R. is now part of the Illinois Gulf Central R. R.
[52]1939 Guide, pp. 483-484.
[53]1939 Guide, pp. 484-485.
[54]1939 Guide, p. 487.
[55]1974 Guide, p. 542.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ROCK ISLAND COUNTY

Barbara F. Zucker

INTRODUCTION

This bibliography evolved from the Illinois State Library preservation grant received by the River Bend Library System (RBLS). One aspect of the grant was a survey of local history materials housed in selected Rock Island County repositories. The survey resulted in the *Rock Island History Union List,* released by the RBLS in November 1990, which indicates library holdings of specific titles.

In addition to the holdings of Rock Island County libraries, this bibliography also lists holdings of selected collections outside Rock Island County, as they were ascertained through personal visits and by consulting selected catalogs. The entries consist of published monographs, pamphlets, typescripts duplicated for limited distribution, and maps. With few exceptions, class papers or projects, newspapers, commercial brochures, souvenir programs, club or alumni directories, and genealogies without significant textual or locally-oriented content were excluded.

Rock Island County, Illinois has from settlement on been closely connected with adjacent Iowa counties. The Bi-, Tri-, Quad-, and occasionally Quint City designation makes the preparation of a Rock Island County history bibliography a challenge. All titles included here have a significant portion devoted to the Illinois side. Because many items included in this bibliography cover all or several of the communities constituting the urbanized area centered on Rock Island and Moline, these works were listed under the Tri- or Quad-City portion. This is particularly true of directories, maps and plat books, and items related to the Mississippi River.

The Quad City area has undergone several planning and unification efforts, reflected in documents prepared by the Rock Island County Regional Planning Commission, the Bi-State Metropolitan Planning Commission, created in 1966, and its successor, the Bi-State Regional Commission. Both the Rock Island County Regional Planning Commission and the Bi-State Metropolitan Planning Commission have, over the years prepared a variety of planning documents and maps useful in the study of the area. These are only selectively listed, in order to show their comprehensiveness. A cummulation of these reports covering 1971-1990 is available in selected county libraries.

Several county repositories have sizeable collections of materials. The most extensive collections of historically important published and unpublished materials are held by the Rock Island Historical Society Library and the Special Collections Library at Augustana College. Both the Moline and Rock Island public libraries have separate local history rooms. The former also has an extensive collection of maps, only some of which were included in this listing. Other repositories of important materials are the Augustana College Library - for all materials related to the college - the Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center, the

Rock Island Arsenal Library, and the Library and Archives at the Deere & Company Headquarters building - for materials related to the history of that company. Throughout the county, libraries were found to hold photographs, architectural drawings, organizational minutes and reports, and school related materials, listed in the afore-mentioned *Rock Island County History Union List.* This list should also be consulted for full bibliographic references of continuations, such as directories and annual reports.

Out-of-county libraries found to hold relevant materials were the Illinois Historical Survey Library at University of Illinois, Western Illinois University Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, the Davenport Public Library, and Southern Illinois University Library in Carbondale. County records for Rock Island can be found in the county court house and in the Illinois Regional Archives Depository Center at Western Illinois University.

Local publications are usually issued in small editions, often with limited or no bibliographic information, and are mostly locally distributed. Few survive. Information about the publications that were overlooked or incorrectly cited is greatly appreciated. Please direct correspondence to Gordana Rezab, editor, Western Illinois University Library, Macomb, IL 61455.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Several small-press publications from, or focused on, the Quad Cities have come to our attention in recent years, and they deserve notice in our pages.

The earliest is Bruce Carlson's *Ghosts of Rock Island County, Illinois,* published in 1987 by Quixote Press, RR 1, #4, Four Seasons, Fort Madison, Iowa. It is a very readable collection of twenty-five ghost stories, neatly illustrated with drawings from old newspapers and magazines. The author has also written four other volumes of ghost stories, relating to Des Moines, Lee, Scott, and Woodbury counties in Iowa. Each is priced at $12.

For those not interested in ghosts, but in cemeteries, Lloyd H. Efflandt has produced *The Silence of Eternity,* a well-written history of Riverside Cemetery and Moline Memorial Park, the two municipal cemeteries at Moline. It was published in 1989 by the Rock Island Arsenal Historical Society. Efflandt is also the author of *The Black Hawk War, Why?,* which the same historical society published in 1987.

Rock Island: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, edited by Bj Elsner, is an illustrated history that was published in 1988 by the Rock Island History Book Committee as part of the community's sesquicentennial observance. Composed of chapters written by many area residents, it lacks continuity but is an interesting historical miscellany that features some 100 aspects of the town's heritage, from frontier figures like Black Hawk and Russell Farnham to contemporary nightlife and preservation efforts in recent years. It has a very helpful index as well as a useful chronology of the community's past.

East Hall Press at Augustana College produces finely printed paperback titles on an occasional basis. *After the Milk Route: A Collection of Poems* by Dick Stahl, appeared in 1988, and *A Sabbath Walk and Other Stories,* by Alex B. Stone, appeared in 1990. Both are neatly printed on high quality paper, and both are illustrated with sketches. The same press also produced *The Parklander Papers,* a festschrift honoring Dr. Dorothy J. Parklander, who taught literature at Augustana for forty years. A beautifully printed volume, it is a miscellany of poetry, fiction, and nonfiction that appeared last year. Perhaps the most impressive piece in the book is Roald Tweet's "Whittling," a personal essay that effectively dramatizes the author's consciousness as he comments on whittling and writing. Tweet himself has been associated with Augustana for many years. For the prices and availability of East Hall Press publications, contact the English Department at Augustana.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TWILIGHT OF EMPIRE: A NARRATIVE. By Alan W. Eckert. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1988. Pp. 587 $24.95

Twilight of Empire is the sixth book in Alan W. Eckert's Winning of America Series, which began twenty-three years ago with *The Frontiersmen* (1967). The series is devoted to narrative histories that chronicle how white men took North America from the Indians, and *Twilight of Empire* is the story of the Black Hawk War. It is a remarkable book, both authoritative and engrossing, but it is not without shortcomings.

Eckert has some thirty-three books to his credit, most of which are focused on the natural world or the frontier. He first gained a reputation in the 1960s with volumes like *The Silent Sky* (1965), about the extinction of the passenger pigeon, and *Wild Season* (1967), about wildlife at a northern lake. But the Winning of America Series has brought him a wider readership, especially because it is available in paperback.

Eckert has striven to reach a popular audience with his historical accounts, and to accomplish that end he has employed fictional techniques, such as the portrayal of scenes and the creation of dialogue. Eckert asserts in his introductory note that such dialogue is "actual quoted conversation," or is "reconstructed from historically recorded interchanges," or is simply invented to suit some historical occasion—but it is always meticulously in keeping with the character and the fundamental leanings of the individual to whom the words are attributed" (p. xii). In short, although the book is classified as nonfiction, it is in fact a hybrid in which Eckert takes liberties that no professional historian would allow himself. It is similar, in that respect, to *Nightfall at Nauvoo* (1971) by Samuel W. Taylor.

The reader does not know, of course, when Eckert's dialogue is invented and when it is based on documentary evidence. That is one problem. Another is that Eckert claims his book is "unbiased," in the sense that he deliberately avoids becoming the champion of either the cause of the Indians or that of the whites (pp. xii-xiii). But since more than ninety percent of the records are by whites—many of whom were anxious to glorify their cause and few of whom had any understanding of, or sympathy for, the Indians, any historical narrative that does not give special attention to Sauk and Fox culture—by explaining Indian values, especially—is bound to be biased. Black Hawk's sense of tradition, for example, and his veneration of his forefathers are not sufficiently emphasized. His motives are poorly realized in the narrative.

Also, the Black Hawk War story is not placed in the context of American settlement of the upper Mississippi Valley. The book is a little too narrowly focused on the conflict itself and the people involved in it. Like a novelist, Eckert is anxious to get into his story, but historical understanding would have been better served with an introductory chapter on Indian-white relations during the settlement period.

However, Eckert did an impressive amount of research and employed a rich variety of sources in developing his narrative, so the book is enlightening as well

as entertaining. Even the scholar who is familiar with the Black Hawk War records will find documents quoted that he has not seen before—such as the letters of George McCall—and there is a sense of encounter with a broad spectrum of participants in the famous conflict. Eckert also provides a wealth of vivid details to bring events alive, as in this account of action on the Indian side of the Battle of Stillman's Run: "Together the two young Sacs peered over the tops of the grasses, fearful of pursuers moving toward them. Instead, they crouched even lower as they heard the thunder of hooves and the terrified cries of men—white men. In wonder they watched as the hardly visible, shadowy forms of a party of mounted whites swept past, obviously terror-stricken, followed immediately by a horde of Sacs in pursuit, their own voices raised in fearsome war whoops" (p. 253).

As this suggests, Eckert is a master storyteller, and *Twilight of Empire* is a fine book, captivating for the reader and informative for anyone with an interest in Illinois or Indian-white relations in the early Midwest.

John E. Hallwas
Western Illinois University

A WINDOW ON THE PAST; RESIDENCES OF JACKSONVILLE, ILL.: THEIR HISTORY AND DESIGN 1833-1925. By Philip H. Decker. Jacksonville: Journal Courier, 1990. Pp. 141. $15 softbound, $25 hardbound.

Local historians, restoration societies, Jacksonville patriots, Attention! You now have available at modest price a comprehensive yet manageable architectural history of a community representative of western Illinois.

The twenty-nine houses illustrated and masterfully described in this volume are located, with only three exceptions, within a few blocks of the Illinois College campus. Several years ago this reviewer's knowledge of local architecture was greatly furthered by Professor Rand Burnette (who contributes the bibliography to this volume) as he guided the reviewer through this very neighborhood. Readers using this book and its map are equipped for a similarly easy and informative walking tour of the historic district; they would also have the advantage of seeing the houses in context rather than in isolation.

The photos are excellent, even though they are largely confined to exterior shots. Unfortunately, original photos of home interiors are relatively rare. Therefore, Dr. Decker cannot say much about the specific manner in which individual homes were furnished; for lack of an alternative, he concentrates upon architectural details, stairways, and fireplaces. In recompense, he has conducted careful historical research on the early houses and interviewed the owners of the newer ones. As a result, everyone who compares this volume with the ordinary *picture-book* of community homes will see that this is a real architectural history con-

taining information which can be widely applied.

Decker's volume is effectively divided into two sections. The first begins with Greek Revival, proceeds through Italianate, and culminates with Queen Anne—a reflection of the growing prosperity of the community as the nineteenth century passed. Almost all the designs for these homes came from pattern books. In contrast, the second part of the book describes houses designed by individual architects (the names of prominent figures appear surprisingly often) for sophisticated and comfort-loving clients.

Readers interested in historic preservation will probably find that the earlier section speaks more directly to their needs. Since local tastes favored a mixture of styles rather than purity, amateur historians often find the eclecticism of nineteenth-century western Illinois architecture difficult to deal with. There is no shame in this—even architects sometimes find it awkward to say whether a house should be classified by its original style or that of a later enlargement or refurbishing. Anyone frustrated by this problem will benefit from Decker's sure and clear exposition of the complex elements of style found in this selection of Jacksonville homes; and, to be certain that nothing is left unclear, Decker includes a glossary suitable for this region.

The only aspect of house design neglected in the volume is connected with the author's failure to define what made the first "modern" house in Jacksonville *modern*—that is, where were the privies, baths, washrooms, wood sheds, and carriage houses? Where were the chicken coops and vegetable gardens? In most communities these outbuildings and fenced areas were indispensable until water pipes and sewers were installed at the turn of the century. Many still existed a half-century ago. Insurance maps are a dependable guide to these buildings, and, surely, there are many people in the community who can remember when they began to disappear. This is an important aspect of architecture for those of us who are interested in its total context.

While few western Illinois communities possess historic districts as compact and comprehensive as the one in Jacksonville, many have a sufficient number of houses from the community's first century of existence to draw up an architectural history similar to this one. Be forewarned: Decker's volume will be the benchmark against which your products are measured.

The Morgan County Historical Society and the *Journal Courier* are to be congratulated for sponsoring this volume. We eagerly look forward to the forthcoming volumes of the Jacksonville series.

William Urban
Monmouth College

MACOMB: A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By John E. Hallwas. St. Louis, Missouri: G. Bradley Publishing, Inc., 1990. Pp. 200. $25.00.

What a marvelous piece of work this is! Ordinarily city histories are merely collections of odds and ends: pictures, legend, fact, and fiction. But John Hallwas, as energetic and innovative as he is, has managed to infuse his creation with a variety of things new and old. He has blended photographs along with a narrative and analyses into a book which would fascinate any native of the great Midwest.

There are 499 uncaptioned photographs, lithographs, and other drawings scattered throughout the 200 pages. By this deliberate omission of captions one is forced to read the text rather than to visually skim the book. And the manner in which the text is organized is different as well. As Hallwas puts it: "The nature of the community is central to the book." Macomb is shown as developing from a close-knit and personal frontier town into a more complex, impersonal, and fragmented one. The result is fascinating.

His table of contents shows five basic divisions: settlement to the Civil War, 1830-1865; business and cultural expansion, 1866-1899; moving into the modern world, 1900-1919; progress, struggle and war, 1920-1945; and the emergence of a broader community, 1946-1990. These segments allow the author to tie Macomb's development to the course of national history. Into each chapter are placed personal reminiscences, each as appealing as the following senior citizen's memories of her third grade class (p.114):

> I was in school during the World War era, and I remember that children talked about the Kaiser and how much they hated the Germans. We were all told to clean our plates when we ate because times were hard in the war-torn countries, and we were reminded to "think of the starving Armenians." We had meatless days and gasless Sundays. We also helped the Red Cross by cutting cotton for bandages.

Hallwas's handling of the Civil War era is interesting as well. Macomb was torn between those who followed the Unionist argument and those who were anti-emancipation. In fact, the *Macomb Eagle,* what might have been called a "copperhead" newspaper at the time, had the largest circulation of any newspaper in the county. Abraham Lincoln visited Macomb twice during the senatorial campaign of 1858, but he failed to carry the county then, and he failed again in 1860 and 1864 in the presidential elections. Yet Macomb did contribute a good many volunteers to a number of Illinois regiments, including the 16th, 28th, 78th, and 84th infantry regiments. The 84th, positioned near the Union right flank at Stone's River, took a hard beating there. And the 78th was part of Gordon Granger's brigades stationed far to the rear of the Army of the Cumberland at the commencement of the Battle of Chickamauga. By forced march, these regiments reached the battlefield at a crucial moment, thus earning for George Thomas the title of "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Hallwas recounts the death of a certain Major Broaddus during this last battle. Some time later, when Union troops retook the Chickamauga area, the bones of Broaddus were gathered and sent back to Macomb. It was typical of the sentiments of the time that the *Macomb Eagle* jeered at the Broaddus family and

their reward for supporting Lincoln's war--a bucket full of bones. Though Hallwas does not touch upon this latter incident, he does include several pages on the bitter opposition within Macomb pertaining to the war.

Something should be written about the pictures included in the book. There is a touching and effective nature in them. One shows a frontier family, the father holding a rifle in one hand and a child in the other, while the wife and the remainder of the family sit proudly in front of their pitifully small cabin. As meagre as it was, it represented their whole world. The neatly dressed members of a young women's club pose gracefully for the camera while, on another page, three or four sweating farm wives toil away with scrubbing boards and dirty clothes. Civil War soldiers pose as proud young men and, then, from section to section they are shown as aging, bearded men, GAR members who finally dwindle down to four feeble reminders of the past.

Some years ago, a similarly devised pictorial book entitled *Wisconsin Death Trip* became a national best seller. That may well have been an accident of the times. Hallwas's book will not achieve that honor, though it represents a superior effort in the area of local history. It should also be mentioned that William Sanders of Macomb designed a smashing dust jacket for this book, thus making the whole presentation a class act.

Victor Hicken
Macomb, Illinois

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